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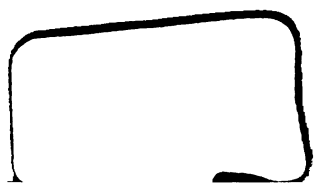
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THE HISTORY

OF THE

CASTLE, TOWN, AND PORT OF DOVER

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DOVER CASTLE.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

CASTLE, TOWN, AND PORT

OF

DOVER

BY THE

REV. S. P. H. STATHAM

LATE SEMITIC SCHOLAR, QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CHAPLAIN TO THE FORCES,

AND

RECTOR OF ST. MARY-IN-THE-CASTLE.

"Dost thou know Dover?"

—SHAKESPEARE.

"Calamus vel scriptor scribe sic scribentis,
Lingua laudabiliter te benedicentis,
Dei patris dextera, domine virtutum,
Qui das tuis prospera quando vis ad nutum."

—POEM, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

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DOVER CASTLE.

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TO

SIR WILLIAM HENRY CRUNDALL,

Mayor of Dover,

WITH WHOSE NAME

IS CONNECTED SO MUCH THAT HAS TENDED TO THE

PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

OF THE TOWN.

Oct 12 09. 8/-

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PREFACE.

THE materials at the disposal of a writer on Dover are fairly abundant. The British Museum possesses a quantity of very valuable documents, the town accounts exist from the year 1365, and the minutes of the Common Assemblies from 1506. In addition to these important records numerous other manuscripts, many of them of the greatest value, have been consulted personally, and Professor Burrows very kindly placed his notes of others at my disposal.

The Castle records have, with very few exceptions, been lost or destroyed, and, although a certain amount of information has been collected, I feel that the account given of it is very inadequate.

Two subjects caused me much anxiety, the Church of St. Mary-in-the-Castle, and the list of Constables. So much has been written on the former subject, and so many different opinions have been expressed by really competent authorities, that I felt the greatest diffidence in expressing my own on the vexed point of the age of the building. It appeared to me, however, that by grouping together all the

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facts which could be gathered concerning the fabric, and omitting mere matters of opinion, a mass of evidence might be collected upon which to base deductions within certain limits at once definite and trustworthy. This I have done, and the conclusion that a very early date must be assigned to this interesting church will, I hope, be found to be incontrovertible. Mr. Micklethwaite's argument "that a church planned from the beginning to have a central tower can not have been built before church towers came into use" is no doubt perfectly valid. The evidence available, however, shows that it is wholly inapplicable to the case. The tower was originally built with four solid walls and not as a church tower at all. A church planned from the beginning to include and modify, by piercing arches in it, a central tower built for other purposes at an earlier period, obviously lies outside Mr. Micklethwaite's category. The date he assigns to the church itself is open to serious question, but with regard to the tower, the statements of his clerk of the works, published by Sir Gilbert Scott, and the corroborative statements published by Canon Puckle, all of whom enjoyed facilities for forming their opinions which have not been since available, seem on the whole more trustworthy than the somewhat hasty inferences of an architect, however distinguished, who has not enjoyed the same advantages.

The list of Constables given in Chapter xiv.

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differs considerably from any yet published, and I venture to believe will be found approximately correct, although further research may probably make other alterations necessary.

It will be noticed that no account is given of the Cinque Ports generally, or of any of their special privileges. To have entered on this province would not only have necessitated travelling over the ground so ably covered by Professor Montagu Burrows in his *Cinque Ports*, but would also have doubled the size of this book. Considerable advantage has been taken of Professor Burrows' work, and I desire to express my indebtedness to him for the sympathy and assistance I have received at his hands.

My sincere thanks are also due to the Rev. T. Shipdem Frampton for the use of his library, and the additions made to my lists of the Clergy of St. Mary-in-the-Castle, and the Masters of the Maison Dieu, as well as for several interesting extracts from the exchequer accounts preserved in the P.R.O.

The Town Clerk of Dover, Colonel E. Wollaston Knocker, C.B., rendered me much valuable assistance, and I am indebted to him for the use of the original Seal of the Registrar of Dover Castle, a copy of which appears on the cover.

My thanks are also due to W. Minet, Esq., for the illustrations of the "New Buildings," and the Seal of the Barons of Dover; to H. Stilgoe, Esq., for the

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tracing of the Ground Plan of Dover Castle; and Mr. H. Gibson, of the *Dover Observer*, for various photographs taken in the castle.

Dr. Sebastian Evans burdened himself with reading and revising the proofs, and I gladly express my gratitude to him for the able and sympathetic manner in which he performed that wearisome task.

S. P. H. STATHAM.

DOVER,
24*th July*, 1899.

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In addition to the Pipe, Patent, Close, Fine and other Rolls in the Record Office, the following is a list of the Manuscripts and Authors chiefly consulted in compiling this work :—

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CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST TIMES TO B.C. 54.

It is generally admitted by geologists that in prehistoric ages Britain was connected with the continent, and from the remains of mammoths and woolly rhinoceroses, and other extinct specimens of the animal creation, which have been excavated in various places, it is evident that they, at one time, inhabited this part of the world. No human remains of this period have been found, but flints sharpened by chipping have been discovered, which prove that human beings existed here in those days. The name given to these earliest inhabitants is Palæolithic, and during, or after, their occupation of the land these islands were severed from the continent. They were succeeded by a race who presumably crossed to our shores by rafts or rough boats, and who have been named Neolithic, because their implements, although of stone, were polished and generally superior to those of the Pleistocene age. This race of men is variously spoken of as Iberian, Ivernian or Euskarian. The Neolithic invasion was followed by a Celtic one, which, beginning at some unknown spot on the shores of the Mediterranean, gradually spread over the whole of the west of Europe. A secondary wave, Teutonic in its origin, starting from the eastern boundaries, pressed forwards through the centre of the continent, and eventually drove the Celtic

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settlers before them to the west and south-west. Whether the Celts had already crossed the channel and occupied Britain, or whether they were driven there by the pressure of the advancing German hordes is unknown. No record has been preserved which enables us to pierce the absolute darkness which covers the history, martial and political, of these earliest settlers in Europe. So far as our islands are concerned this darkness is not dissipated until the Roman invasion, although vague and infrequent references to them may be found in several classical authorities. Herodotus, the Greek historian, who flourished in the fifth century B.C., is generally considered to have had a dim notion of their existence, and to have spoken of them under the name of Cassiterides. He states that they were the chief source from which the Phœnicians drew their supply of tin. It has, however, been recently shown that the Cassiterides were most probably off the coast of Spain. The earliest mention of the British Isles under their own names is to be found in a tractate formerly ascribed to Aristotle, who lived about 350 B.C., who tells us that in the ocean beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, there are "two great islands, Albion and Ierne, called the Britannic Isles"; and Professor Rhys is responsible for the suggestion that the origin of the name is to be traced to a second invasion of our shores by a mass of Celts termed Brythons or Britons. It is now customary to distinguish the earlier Celtic immigrants from the British by speaking of them as Goidels, and the Gaelic of the Highlands, the Manx of the Isle of Man, and the Erse of Ireland may be traced back to them. Most of these early references, however, are connected with the desire of the ancients to discover the secret of the Carthaginian tin trade, and on this account it has been erroneously supposed by some

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that no communication existed between England and the continent at any date much anterior to the landing of Julius Cæsar. About 320 B.C. a Greek named Pytheas was sent by the merchants of Massalia to open up, if possible, a trade route for tin between that city and Britain; and there is very little doubt but that he succeeded. The tin was brought by land from Devon and Cornwall to an island called Ictis, which has been identified with the Isle of Thanet. There is some reason, moreover, for supposing that Dover itself was a trading port of considerable importance before his day. The evidence of Cæsar himself, borne out as it is by that of many other writers, clearly proves, not only that the Gauls had a large trade with Britain, but that it was the most important centre of their religious system, and one of the chief recruiting grounds for their military forces. Nearly 350 years before Cæsar's Gallic wars the Celts had first come into conflict with Rome, although as far back as 616 B.C. they had commenced their inroads upon Italian soil. Their attack, under Brennus, upon the city of Clusium, was the primary cause of the first Romo-Gallic war in 390 B.C., which ended, as is well known, in the sacking and burning of Rome itself. According to Livy the army of invasion was "an unknown and terrible enemy from the ocean and utmost verges of the earth," an expression that may very fairly be taken to include the island of Albion, especially when we remember that Pausanias states: "The Iberi and Celti live near an ocean, not a river, but near the farthest sea navigated by man, and this ocean contains the island of Britain". According to an ancient belief Brennus himself was a Briton, and Camden says: "That Brennus, so famous in both Greek and Latin authors, was a Briton, some think may easily be proved; for my part, I only

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know thus much in this matter, that the name is not quite lost among the Britons, who in their language call a king Brennin". The early British historians, moreover, distinctly assert that the dominant part of the invading army was British, and was under the command of Brennus and Belinus, two sons of Molmutius, a king of Britain. It is customary to treat these British historians as worthy of little credit, but in this case the general similarity between their account of the invasion of Rome and the narrative of the Roman authors is sufficiently remarkable, whilst the divergences are only such as might be explained by the fact that the British and Roman writers drew their information from different traditional sources. The whole subject has been carefully considered by the Rev. Francis Vine, in his *Cæsar in Kent*, who strongly maintains the credibility of the British historians. If their account be true, then the fact that Britain was in close communication with the continent in those early days may be considered as proved. It is equally true that until the days of Cæsar it remained practically unknown to the Roman world. Supposing this close communication to have existed it is impossible not to believe that Dover, as the port nearest to the coast of Gaul, must have been a place of considerable importance. Whatever the amount of communication may have been in those remoter periods, it seems fairly clear from Cæsar's own account that it must have been considerable in his time. It is true that we find an assertion that his endeavours to ascertain what race of men inhabited Britain, and to discover the situation of the most frequented ports, and the readiest means of access were unsuccessful, "as the Gauls were ignorant of them". On the other hand, we learn, from the same passage, that

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a real continental trade must have existed. His words are: "For neither does any one besides the merchants go there unadvisedly, nor is anything known to the merchants themselves beyond the sea-coast and the parts over against Gaul". The fact that he was unable to obtain any useful information for his projected invasion from a number of these merchants, gathered from all quarters, proves, not that they had no information to give, but that they were unwilling to supply it to the conqueror of Gaul, who also avowed his intention of invading and subduing the only Celtic country that then remained free from the hateful presence of the Roman legionaries. It must be remembered, also, that in other parts of his work he speaks of a frequent intercourse between Britain and Belgic Gaul, as, for instance, when he tells us that Diviaticus, King of the Suessiones, after building up a powerful kingdom in Gaul, had extended his authority into Britain as well. The best evidence that Cæsar gives, however, of the close bond which united England with the continent in his day is the reason he advances for invading Britain. "He determined to proceed into Britain because he understood that in almost all the Gallic wars succours had been supplied thence to our enemies." According to Strabo, the Veneti, who inhabited the coast district between the Seine and the Loire, fought against Cæsar by sea because they feared the loss of their trade with Britain if it were conquered by him. They were only defeated after a fierce engagement, which lasted from morning to night, and were sold into slavery by the victor. There can be but little doubt that a lucrative trade was done with Britain in those days, and that every effort was made by those employed in it to preserve it to themselves as a profitable monopoly. To this desire may partially be attributed the inability of Cæsar to learn

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anything even about the ports from merchants who confessedly used them. That the trade was confined to the venerable traffic in tin is not to be believed, for, if Strabo may be credited, the country produced corn and cattle, gold, silver and iron, skins, slaves and "dogs sagacious in hunting, which the Celti use for the purposes of war". With regard to the imports, Cæsar says that "the Britons used imported brass," and Strabo that "they bartered tin and lead with the merchants for earthenware and salt and brazen vessels".

Britain at this period was very similar to Gaul so far as its political elements were concerned. The masses were serfs, without influence or even civil rights. The classes were divided into two sections, the Druids and the "knights"; that is, the priests and the military chiefs or heads of clans. Practically all that we know of the Druids is to be found in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and is contained in the following statements: "The Druids act in all sacred matters, they attend to the sacrifices, which are offered either by the tribe in general, or by individuals, and answer all questions concerning their religion. They always have a large number of young men as pupils, who treat them with the greatest respect. They decide all controversies, whether public or private, and they judge all causes, whether of murder, of a disputed inheritance, or of the boundaries of an estate. They assign both rewards and punishments, and whoever refuses to abide by their sentence, whether he be in a public or private station, is forbidden to be present at the sacrifices to the gods. This is their most severe mode of punishment, and those who have been thus punished are held as impious and profane; all avoid them, no one will either meet them or speak to them, lest they should be injured by their contagion; every species of honour is

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withheld from them, and if they are plaintiffs in a lawsuit justice is denied them. All the Druids are subject to one chief, who enjoys the greatest authority among them. On the death of the chief Druid, the next in dignity is appointed to succeed him; and if there are two whose merits are equal the election is made by the votes of the whole body, though sometimes they dispute for the preeminence with the sword." "The Druidic system is thought to have had its origin in Britain, from whence it was introduced into Gaul; and it is still customary for those who wish to study it more thoroughly to pass over into Britain for that purpose. The Druids enjoy peculiar privileges; they are exempt from service in war, and from the payment of taxes; they have also many other immunities, which cause their order to become so numerous and influential, and young men are glad to be placed with them by their parents and relations to learn their doctrines. In their schools the pupils are said to learn by heart a large number of verses, and in this way some of their scholars pass twenty years in completing their education; for it is unlawful to commit their doctrines to writing, though they are not ignorant of the art of writing; and for all other purposes, both in their public and private reckonings, they make use of the Greek characters." "Among their most important tenets is that of the immortality of the soul, which they believe passes after death into other bodies." "Their other doctrines concern the motion of the heavenly bodies, the magnitude of the earth, and the universe, the nature of things, and the power and attributes of the immortal gods." "All the Gallic nations are much given to superstition; for which reason, when they are seriously ill, or are in danger through their wars or other causes, they either offer up men as victims to the gods, or make a vow to sacrifice

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themselves. The ministers in these offerings are the Druids; and they hold that the wrath of the immortal gods can only be appeased, and man's life be redeemed, by offering up human sacrifice, and it is part of their national institutions to hold fixed solemnities for this purpose. Some of them make immense images of wicker-work, which they fill with men who are thus burned alive in offering to their deities. These victims are generally selected from among those who have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes, in whose punishment they think the gods take the greatest pleasure; but if there be a scarcity of such victims, they do not hesitate to sacrifice innocent men in their place." "Their principal deity is Mercury, in whose honour they have erected numerous statues; they hold him to be the inventor of all the arts, and the god who protects men on a journey, and leads them on their way; moreover they ascribe to him the power of granting success and prosperity in affairs of gain and commerce. Next to Mercury come Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva, to whom they ascribe attributes similar to those which are attributed to the same deities among other nations." It is from Pliny that we learn of their respect for the mistletoe, "the Druids, who are the Magi of Gaul, esteem nothing more sacred than the mistletoe, and the tree on which it grows, indeed they select groves of oaks, and use their leaves in all their sacred rites, so that their very name of Druids may seem to be derived from the Greek name for oak δρὺς. Everything that grows on these trees is considered by them as sent from heaven, and a sign that the tree is chosen by the deity himself. But the mistletoe is very rare to find, and where it occurs is sought with great avidity; particularly on the sixth moon, which among these nations marks the beginnings of their months and years, and of a genera-

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tion after thirty years, because it then has abundance of strength, though not yet half of its full size. They call it in their language by a name which signifies 'all-heal' (*omnia sanantem*), and when they have made ready their sacrifices and banquets under the tree, they bring up two white bulls, whose horns are then bound for the first time. A priest clothed in a white robe ascends the tree, and with a golden pruning knife lops off the bough, which is caught in a white towel. They then immolate the victims, praying that God may prosper the gift to all who shall partake of it; for they believe that by using it as a drink barren animals are rendered fruitful, and all kinds of poisons are deprived of their noxious power" (*Celt, Roman and Saxon*, by Prof. Wright). Strabo describes the dress of the Druids whom he had seen as composed of scarlet and gold brocade, with golden collars and bracelets. Valerius Maximus says, "one would have laughed at these long-trousered philosophers, if we had not found their doctrines under the cloak of Pythagoras" (Windle, p. 62).

As might be expected, the characteristics and mode of life of the inhabitants of the maritime states differed considerably from those of the tribes of the interior, intercourse with Europe must have had a great influence upon the language, dress, habits and mode of life of those who occupied, or did business with, such places as Dover. The primitive Britons seem to have been nomadic in their habits, living much the same kind of life, in fact, as the wild Irish did some three centuries ago. The colonists from the continent, having driven them back from the coast, introduced more civilised habits, dwelling in permanent buildings, and devoting themselves to agricultural and mercantile pursuits. This was particularly true of Kent, for Cæsar describes its inhabi-

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tants as being the most civilised of all the peoples of Britain. "*Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt a consuetudine,*" which Shakespeare paraphrases in his well-known lines:—

> Kent, in the commentaries Cæsar writ,
> Is termed the civil'st place in all the isle.

Mr. Vine quotes the following passages from various writers, descriptive of the British people in their day. Strabo, who was born in B.C. 64, says, "the Britons in stature exceed the Gauls, and their hair is not so yellow nor their bodies so well set. Let this be an argument of their tallness, that I myself have seen at Rome some young men of them taller by half a foot than other men. Yet their legs were but weak, and the other parts of the body showed them to be not well made or handsome." From Tacitus, the Britons "show more heat and fierceness than the Gauls". From Dio Nicæus, "they run at a great rate"; and from Herodian, they fought "with a sword hanging by their naked bodies". From Diodorus Siculus, "in their wars they use chariots as the ancient Greek heroes are reported to have done in the Trojan war, and they have mean habitations, constructed for the most part of reeds and of wood, and they gather in their harvest by cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in subterranean repositories: that they cull therefrom daily such as are old, and dressing them have thence their substance: that they are simple in their manners, and far removed from the cunning and wickedness of men of the present day: that their modes of living are frugal, and greatly differing from the luxury consequent on riches," and from Pomponius Mela, "the Britons are uncultivated, and in proportion as they live a great distance from the continent, they are unacquainted with

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the wealth and the riches in other places, theirs consisting wholly in cattle and the extent of their grounds". All the Britons, we are informed by Cæsar, stained their bodies with a blue dye made from woad, to give themselves a more terrible appearance in battle, but we need not necessarily infer from this that they never used clothing at all. It seems to have been their custom to have prepared themselves for the fight and the chase by removing all garments to ensure absolute freedom of movement. Among the nomadic tribes of the interior, clothing may have been practically dispensed with, but in the more civilised parts it appears to be more than unlikely. The following extract from the *De Bello Gallico* has given rise to much controversy among writers on this period of our national history, we simply quote it as written by Cæsar without any comments: "*Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quæque deducta est*". When we add to the foregoing that, according to Cæsar, Britain was populated by an "infinite multitude of men"; that cattle was very abundant; that timber of all kinds, except beech and fir, was largely grown; and that their money consisted of bronze coins or pieces of iron rings, reduced to certain standard weights; we have practically all the information that is available about the inhabitants of England at the time of the Roman invasion.

Of Dover itself (in those days) it is quite impossible to write anything with certainty, beyond the facts that it existed as, at least, a permanent settlement, and that Cæsar had, apparently, received sufficient information about its importance as to make it the first point of attack in his invasion of Britain. From the use made of

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it in all subsequent ages, as the port from which easiest access was to be had to the continent, we may reasonably argue that it must have been similarly used, as a point of arrival and departure, in earlier times; but it is just as well to leave all speculations to the theorists, and to rest content with reliable facts. Let it suffice for us to know that in Cæsar's opinion the people of Kent were the "most courteous" of all with whom he came into contact in England, and that Dover was, and is, a not unimportant portion of the county.

With the landing of Julius Cæsar on the coast of Kent we commence a new era in the history of our island, for, though the victorious Roman remained but a short time on our shores, his coming was the origin of a stupendous change in the habits and customs of the country. The place at which he made his first attempt to land has been fiercely disputed, there can be no question, however, that it was Dover he selected as the spot most suitable for his purpose. Dissatisfied with the imperfect information supplied by the merchants who traded with Britain, he despatched Caius Volusenus in a ship to make a survey of the opposite coast. On receiving his report he embarked his troops at the Portus Itius, now known as Boulogne. His transports were about eighty in number, and held two legions, the Seventh and the Tenth. The latter was Cæsar's favourite regiment, upon whose fidelity and courage he placed the utmost reliance. The Roman legion consisted of ten cohorts, each cohort being subdivided into six centuria, or bands of 100 men. The strength of a legion varied considerably, according to Livy; but in all probability those embarked at the Portus Itius were very little short of 6000 fighting men. The transports were accompanied by several war galleys, although, since the defeat of the

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Veneti, the Romans had no need to fear any attack on the sea. The cavalry were ordered to follow in eighteen other transports from a port some eight miles distant, which the Emperor Napoleon III. in his book, *The History of Julius Cæsar*, has identified with Ambleteuse. Cæsar set sail about midnight on a day which has been variously stated to be the 24th to the 27th of August, and by 10 A.M. in the morning of the same day was off the coast of Britain. On drawing in close to the shore he saw "the armed forces of the enemy stationed on all the hills," and as the one spot suitable for landing was covered by the enemy, posted on the summit of the cliffs, there divided only by a narrow strip of water (*cujus loci hæc erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebantur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset*), he decided to abandon the attempt and proceed along the coast. There can be no hesitation in affirming that this spot was Dover, for the description given in the *Commentaries* corresponds exactly with what is known to have been the character of its shores in those and latter days. Camden, who published his *Britannia* in 1586, says, "all along from Deal a ridge of high rocks (called by Cicero *moles magnificæ*, stately cliffs) abounding with samphire, in Latin Chrythmus and Sampetra, runs about seven miles to Dover, where it gapes and opens itself to passengers. And the nature of the place answers to Cæsar's character of it, receiving and enclosing the sea between the hills. In this break of that ridge of rocks lies Dubris, mentioned by Antoninus, called in Saxon Dofra, and by us Dover. Darellus writes out of *Eadmer*, that the name was given from its being shut up and hard to come to. 'For,' says he, 'because in old time, the sea making a large harbour in that place spread itself very wide, they were put under the necessity

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of shutting it up within closer bounds.' But William Lambard, with greater show of probability, fetches the name from Dufyrrha, which in British signifies a steep place. The town, which is seated among the rocks (where the haven itself formerly was while the sea came up farther, as is gathered from the anchors and planks of ships digged up), is more noted for the convenience of its harbour (though it has but little of that left it) and the passage from thence to France, than either its neatness or populousness." That the sea ran a considerable distance inland in former days is unquestionable, for, if we doubt the testimony of Camden, excavations made in more recent times have shown conclusively that the haven must have reached almost up to Buckland. That there is no other place on this coast which so accurately answers the description of Cæsar's first attempted landing place has been generally conceded by the majority of writers on this question, and Dover may rejoice in having repulsed the first historical invasion of our shores. After waiting in vain for his cavalry until 3 P.M., Cæsar sailed, with favouring wind and tide, some seven miles farther on, and eventually brought his ships up near "an open and level" shore. The landing was not effected without a fierce contest, for a numerous and formidable host of Britons were drawn up on the beach to oppose him. The transports, owing to their size, were unable to carry the troops into shallow water, and the Roman soldiers, ignorant of the ground, oppressed with the heavy weight of their arms, and with their hands encumbered, were not overwilling to jump into an unknown depth of water. The native levies, on the other hand, horse and foot alike, advanced into the sea and boldly hurled their darts at the dismayed and bewildered Romans. To steady his own troops, and to diminish the ardour of the British

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attack, Cæsar ordered an assault to be made on either flank of the enemy by his long boats, filled with men armed with slings, arrows and engines of war (*tormentis*). This manœuvre was successful for a time, and the Britons, astonished at the unusual shape of the vessels, the motion of the oars, and the strange machines for throwing darts and stones, drew back. Still the Roman soldiers, fearing the deep water, delayed their onset, until the Centurio Primipilus of the Tenth Legion, jumping from his ship, cried out with a stentorian voice: "Leap down, soldiers, unless you wish to betray the eagle to the enemy. I, for my part, shall have done my duty to the republic and the general." Thus saying he advanced towards the shore, carrying in his hands the standard of the legion. Fearful of the disgrace of losing their eagle the soldiers leapt from the vessel in a body, closely followed by others from the nearest ships. Then commenced a fierce contest, in which the Romans, unable to keep their proper formations, were likely to have been worsted. The Britons, driving their chariots at full speed into the water, attacked with overwhelming strength individuals struggling for the beach, and those leaping from the transports. Cæsar, however, saved the day by filling the row and spy boats with soldiers and sending them to the assistance of those fighting against such fearful odds. By these means the shore was at length gained, and, discipline being restored, the Britons were charged and defeated. No long pursuit was possible as the invaders were without cavalry, for in this one point, says Cæsar, his usual good fortune deserted him.

After the battle the chiefs of the British party sent ambassadors to Cæsar with proposals for a peace, which Cæsar readily granted, demanding a certain number of

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hostages, some of whom were immediately delivered. It is probable that this submission was merely a subterfuge to gain time in which to reorganise the British forces and raise new levies, for within a few days a new and furious attack was made upon the Roman troops, already much disheartened by the almost total loss of their transports during a heavy gale. It was only with great difficulty that this attack was defeated, Cæsar retreating to his camp, and leaving in the hands of the enemy the prisoners that they had taken during the battle. In the British accounts of this action the Romans are described as sustaining a crushing defeat, and a hand to hand fight between Cæsar and Nennius, the commander of their cavalry, is recorded with several picturesque details (*The British Kymry*, Morgan). According to Mr. Vine this battle was fought close to Dover, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ringwould and Martin Mill, and there seems every reason to believe that he is right in his surmise. Tempestuous weather prevented further hostilities for several days, but the Britons, after collecting a large force of infantry and cavalry, at length advanced to the assault of Cæsar's camp. In this they were completely defeated, and, repulsed with great slaughter, they were pursued for a considerable distance. Dover itself, having been the headquarters of the British, was most likely entered by the following Romans and destroyed. Peace was again made, the Britons furnishing double the number of hostages demanded after the first engagement. Cæsar, having embarked his troops, sailed for the continent, glad to leave the shores of Britain before the equinoctial gales set in. Although a thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed by the Senate in honour of his victories, there were not wanting those who declared that his expedition had been a failure, if not a disgrace.

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He had not, indeed, succeeded in doing much. It is true that he had effected a landing in the face of a serious opposition, and that he had been victorious in beating off the attack upon his camp; but it is equally true that he had not gained a sufficiently firm footing to enable him to winter with safety in the country. Victory may be claimed for the Britons with more real reason than for Cæsar. His object was to conquer and to subjugate the country to the Roman power, theirs to prevent his landing, or if he succeeded in landing, to make any prolonged stay impossible. That, in the end, in spite of his victories, he was compelled to return to the continent with largely reduced numbers, may very legitimately be claimed by British writers as a triumphant ending to their struggles for freedom. One thing is quite clear from Cæsar's own account of his invasion, and that is, that the Britons defended their native land with conspicuous bravery, and were only defeated by a trained soldiery, better armed and better led. It is well to emphasise this fact, for "when Dr. Prichard says (*Hist. Mankind*, vol. iii., p. 179) that the Celtic nations were always defeated when they came into contact with the Germans, and when this fact is treated as a corroboration of the accounts of their immorality, we ought to inquire whether Roman protectorates rather than national customs did not enfeeble the Gauls and make them incapable of resistance. Such is Tacitus' view" (Moberly, *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, p. 292).

No sooner had Cæsar landed in Gaul than he found that it was necessary for him to return at once to Italy; but before starting he issued instructions for fitting out a large number of ships for another invasion of Britain in the ensuing year. On his return to Gaul in 54 B.C., he found that his orders had been effectually obeyed,

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and that over 800 vessels were ready for his purpose. Having embarked five legions and 2000 cavalry in his numerous transports, he set sail with a favourable breeze and landed, without opposition, somewhere near his camp of the previous year. Cæsar ascribes his unopposed landing to the fear with which his immense fleet had filled the enemy; but in the Cambrian Triads, Avarwy, Prince of Kent, nicknamed "Dubradwr" (The Black Traitor), is held responsible for the fatal advice which permitted the Romans to obtain a footing on British soil without striking a blow. The first engagement took place on the banks of the Lesser Stour, about twelve miles from the place of disembarkation, and seems to have chiefly been a cavalry fight, although the Seventh Legion was called upon to storm a fortress which had been constructed in the woods overhanging the river. The British were defeated, but Cæsar was unable to follow up his success at once, as he had received news of the serious damage done to his fleet by a violent storm on the second night of his arrival. To prevent further mishaps from a similar cause, he occupied his men for ten days in hauling up his vessels, and in enclosing them within a fortified camp. Leaving a sufficient guard to defend his transports, he then led out his troops towards the spot where the first engagement had been fought. He there found the united forces of all the tribes of South-eastern Britain, under Cassivellaunus, prepared to oppose his further advance. The Britons were utterly routed, and, henceforward, never attacked in sufficient numbers to bring on a general engagement. Cæsar then advanced direct to the Thames, bent on invading the territory of Cassivellaunus in Hertfordshire. His march was harassed throughout by detached bands of the enemy, who lay concealed in woods and difficult places, and

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caused considerable damage and danger to the Roman soldiery. Having forced the passage of the Thames, and demonstrated the superiority of his troops, the different tribes, hitherto united under the banner of Cassivellaunus, began to make their submission. The Trinobantes, occupying Essex and Middlesex, were the first to come in, quickly "followed by the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci and the Cassi. The first of these tribes lay to the north of the Trinobantes, in the present county of Suffolk; the Segontiaci occupied the greater part of the present counties of Hampshire and Berkshire; the Bibroci inhabited a thickly wooded country containing the celebrated forest of Anderida, including a small part of Hampshire and Berkshire, and stretching through the modern counties of Sussex and Surrey into the eastern parts of Kent; the position of the Ancalites is less certain, but they perhaps lay on the north of Berkshire and on the western borders of Middlesex; and if the Cassi were the same tribe that was called by Ptolemy the Catyeuchlani, as is supposed, they formed the link between these other tribes and the Trinobantes, stretching through the modern counties of Hertford, Bedford and Buckingham. The envoys of these tribes informed Cæsar 'that the town of Cassivellaunus was not far off, surrounded by woods and marshes, and occupied by a large number of men and cattle. The Britons call by the name of town a place in the fastnesses of the woods surrounded by a mound and trench, and calculated to afford them a retreat and protection from hostile invasion. Cæsar immediately marched to this place, which he found extremely strong, both by nature and art, nevertheless he assailed it at once in two different quarters. The enemy stood their ground for a time, but at length gave way before the onset of our men, and abandoned

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the town by the opposite side.'" Cassivellaunus straightway set out for Kent, filled with the idea of cutting Cæsar off from the coast. He summoned the four chiefs of Kent, called by Cæsar, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Segonax and Taximagulus, to join him with their forces, and made a furious but unsuccessful attack upon the fortified naval camp. Convinced, at length, of the uselessness of further resistance, he offered, through Commius, to submit to Cæsar; who, anxious to return to Gaul, willingly accepted his proposals. Cassivellaunus was compelled to give hostages, and promised to pay an annual tribute to Rome. Moreover he agreed not to wage war upon the Trinobantes, who had been the first to submit to Cæsar. The loss of several of his ships rendered it necessary for the Roman transports to make two journeys to the continent, but, calm weather prevailing, they were made in safety, and by the end of September Cæsar, with all his troops, was in Gaul again. In the *Commentaries* nothing is said about the number of casualties during the campaign, but in c. 49 of the fifth book we learn that two of the legions, just returned from Britain, going on a new expedition could only muster about 7000 men, and from this we may judge that the despised Celts had inflicted considerable losses upon the Romans. Cæsar, indeed, found in the Britons a brave and warlike enemy, and it is not improbable that his rapid success was as much owing to the treachery of some of the chiefs, who were discontented with the rule of Cassivellaunus, as to the superiority of his legions. Surmises are, however, of little value, and the fact remains that the Roman general was victorious in every engagement, and that the Britons became tributary to the great republic.

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CHAPTER II.

B.C. 53 TO A.D. 1066.

For a period of nearly a hundred years from the departure of Julius Cæsar Britain remained in the tributary state to Rome in which he left it.[1] History tells us nothing exact of the condition of the people or of the names and actions of their chiefs. We have, however, antiquarian evidence to prove that his invasion was not unfruitful in its results. A desire to imitate the Romans in their customs and manners seems to have at once sprung up among those tribes which had been conquered by Cæsar. This desire was naturally much accentuated by the frequent intercourse which arose between Italy and Britain. The curiosity aroused by Cæsar's conquest must have induced a steady flow of inquiring visitors from the continent, and especially from Rome itself. Whilst it is beyond question that some of the British endeavoured "to cultivate the friendship" of the mighty power whose rule sat so lightly upon them. The following extract from an inscription in honour of Augustus, found at Angora, in Asia Minor, confirms the account given by Strabo of British ambassadors presenting themselves in Rome to seek the favour of Cæsar Augustus.

[1] This tribute was at first paid in coin, but in the days of Augustus it was "commuted for light export and import duties on articles of commerce with Gaul".

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[REG]ES BRITTANN[ORUM] DAMNO . BELLA[VNUSQUE] ET TIM . . . [CIMBR]ORUM MAELO . MAR[C]OMANORUM . SUEBO . F . . . . [AD . ME . REX] PARTHORUM . . .

This is the reading given in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, but the name appearing as DAMNO . BELLA . . . has been identified by Sir John Evans, with great probability, as that of Dubnovellaunos, a contemporary British prince of whom a number of coins have been found. It is indeed to the indigenous coinage of Britain that we owe nearly all of the little information we possess with regard to the state of the island during this period. The fact that such names as Verlamium and Camulodunum appear on some of these coins seems to imply that the Britons had permanent towns even before the first arrival of Cæsar. It would also appear that two distinct leading dynasties held sway in those parts of the island which submitted to Cæsar. One descended from Cassivellaunus, and chiefly represented by Tasciovanus and his son Cunobeline, and the latter's three sons, Adminius, Caratacus and Togidumnus. The other, presumably Kentish dynasties, most of the coins having been found in this county, represented by Vose (nos) Amminus, Commius Eppillus, Verica and Tincommius. From the fact that a large proportion of the coins are made of gold and silver we may fairly believe that the trade of this part of the island was extensive, and the imports of a largely varied character for many years before Britain came in direct contact with Rome. Unhappily a continuous internecine war was waged between the various tribes, and even between sections of the same tribe, and it was owing to the seditious and unruly conduct of one of the sons of Cunobeline that the Romans again invaded Britain. Adminius, the son in question, having been banished by his father, made his way to Rome

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with a few of his supporters, and claimed the protection of the reigning Cæsar. Caligula, who had succeeded Tiberius in 37 A.D., took up his cause, and actually marched into Gaul with the avowed intention of crossing into Britain and reducing it to a Roman province. The expedition resulted in a mere fiasco, for no attempt was made to cross the channel, and the emperor returned to Rome covered with ridicule. In A.D. 41 Claudius began his reign, and his attention was also attracted to Britain by a native fugitive, who urged him to make a conquest of the island. Listening favourably to his plea, and moved, perhaps, by a desire to deserve a military triumph, Claudius collected an army and placed it under the command of Aulus Plautius in the spring of 43 A.D. Owing to the mutinous conduct of the troops the expedition did not sail until the autumn, when Plautius succeeded in landing on the shores of Britain. "Cæsar had overpowered Cassivellaunus by enlisting on his side the revolted Trinobantes, and Aulus Plautius now enlisted on his side the Regni, who dwelt in the present Sussex, and the Iceni, who dwelt in the present Norfolk and Suffolk." With their aid, at the head of 40,000 men, he defeated the sons of Cunobeline. Togidumnus was slain, and Caratacus driven into exile. The defeat of the British chieftains seems to have roused their followers to a more desperate resistance, and Aulus Plautius, acting on the defensive for a time, sent for reinforcements to Rome. The emperor himself then came in person, and the whole country south-east of a line drawn from the Wash to the Severn submitted to him. Claudius then returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph. He and his son were both honoured by the Senate with the title of "Britannicus," and a coin was struck to commemorate the victory. It is quite possible

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that during the period just anterior to the visit of Claudius, Aulus Plautius strengthened the posts he had already established, especially on the coast, with buildings of a more permanent character. It may be that the Pharos, still standing on the Castle heights, was erected at this time. In A.D. 47 Aulus Plautius was recalled and was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, who carried the Roman authority during the next eleven years into the far west and as far north as Deva (Chester). The Iceni, who had been allied with Aulus Plautius, rose in arms against him because he endeavoured to suppress the freedom of government allowed them by his predecessor. Ostorius easily overcame them, and to strengthen his position in that part of the country founded a Roman colony at Camulodunum, the former capital of Cunobeline. Avitus Didius Gallus succeeded Scapula, and was followed by Veranius, who died soon after his appointment. Caius Suetonius Paullinus was immediately made proprætor, and his first work was to complete the conquest of the West by an attack on Mona (Anglesey), the last great centre of Druidical worship. His period of office is remarkable for the insurrection of Boadicea, widow of Prasutagus, chief of the Iceni. The Britons, goaded to desperation by the severity of Suetonius and the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers, broke out into open revolt at the brutal and degrading insults which had been heaped upon Boadicea. Answering her summons, the whole Celtic population of the south-eastern districts, burning with a desire to repay their many injuries and wrongs, rushed upon the colonists of Camulodunum and slew the entire population, male and female. Wherever Romans were found, they were massacred, and a whole legion coming to the rescue suffered a similar fate. It has

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been computed that 70,000 Romans perished in a few days. Suetonius took a fearful revenge, slaying some 80,000 Britons. When the revolt and its causes were made known to the Emperor Nero he recalled Suetonius from Britain, and replaced him by Petronius Turpilianus. He was a man noted for his forbearance and lenity, and was eminently suited to restore the country, bleeding from its recent massacre, to a more peaceful and contented state. He was succeeded about A.D. 68 by Trebellius Maximus who continued the just and equable rule of Turpilianus, and, whilst the rest of the vast empire of Rome was torn by civil factions and commotions, the Province of Britain remained tranquil and prosperous. The struggles for supremacy between Otho, Galba, Vitellius and Vespasian caused Britain to be denuded of troops, and Roman authority was consequently weakened. The Brigantes and the Silures broke out into rebellion, and shortly after the Ordovices followed their example. At the right moment for Rome, Julius Agricola, who already had gained considerable experience of Britain in command of the Twentieth Legion, was appointed Proprætor in A.D. 78. By the fairness and equity of his rule he restored peace to the province, and by his martial skill completed the conquest of Britain. Before the end of the first century therefore the whole of the island was brought into subjection to Rome, and a very large and important trade was rapidly developed with the rest of the empire.

Claudius Ptolemæus, the geographer, issued his famous survey of the world about 120 A.D., and from it we learn that Kent was occupied by a large and influential tribe which he terms the Cantii. Rutupiæ seems to have been the principal port, and the usual place of disembarkation for visitors from the continent. Dover at that

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time was contented to take the second place, but it was always a place of importance, and was fortified and strongly garrisoned. In 119 A.D. the Emperor Hadrian visited Britain, and caused the massive fortified wall, nearly seventy miles in length, to be built from the Solway Firth to the Tyne. On some of the coins struck to commemorate his visit appears a seated figure armed with a spear and shield, and surrounded with the word Britannia. Roman writers have left very few notices of affairs in Britain, and what is known has no reference to Dover. Towards the end of the third century, however, the coast of Kent began to be infested with Saxon pirates, and it was found necessary to "establish and keep up a strong fleet in the channel which had its places of rendezvous at Gessoriacum (Boulogne,) and in the ports of Kent, Sussex and Hampshire". This is the first time that we hear of a British fleet in history, and it is naturally interesting to us to note that the future "Cinque Ports and Two Ancient Towns" were its usual places of anchorage. The term "British fleet" was found on an old Roman altar at Lympne, the dedication of which was made by "AVFIDIV. PANTERA PRÆFECT. CLAS. BRIT.". One of the commanders of this fleet, named Carausius, became an arch-pirate himself. He allowed the Saxons to fill their ships with plunder taken from the British, and then attacked them with his fleet, thus securing the booty for himself. When Maximian, the emperor issued orders for his execution, he entered into an alliance with the Franks, seized Boulogne, and had himself proclaimed as one of the Emperors of Rome. Strange as it may appear he was able to exercise his authority for seven years, and during that time he was supreme in Britain. His reign is remarkable for the number of coins which were struck, over three hundred different

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types have already been found, and on one of them is the familiar figure of Britannia with her trident. He was murdered in 293 A.D. by his admiral Allectus, who immediately assumed the title of emperor. Numerous coins of his reign have also been found. He was killed in battle three years later, Constantius having sent an expedition to destroy him. This battle was fought near London in the year 296 A.D. The Emperor Constantius then took up his residence in Britain, and, with his son Constantine, remained here until his death at York in 306 A.D. Constantine was at once proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, and he remained in Britain until 312, when he was called away to enter upon that strife which ended in making him sole ruler of the Roman world. From his death, in 337, the Roman power in Britain began to fade, in the north the Picts and Scots continually assailed it by sea and land, whilst in the south the Saxons who were more dangerous, because better equipped and armed, were the no less deadly enemies of the Roman government. It became necessary to fortify every inlet on the coast from the Wash to Beachy Head against these Saxon marauders, and the whole of these defences were placed in the hands of an officer who was known as the "Count of the Saxon shore". The defences of the north were confided to the "Duke of Britain," and both these officers were under the control of a superior who was called *Comes Britanniarum*. With increasing difficulty these fierce and persistent enemies were kept at bay until the reign of Honorius, who was compelled by the attacks of barbarians nearer home to withdraw all his troops from Britain in the year 410 A.D. With their departure the supremacy of the Roman Empire ended in these islands.

By the middle of the fourth century a network of

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roads connected a multitude of cities and towns in Britain. Traces of these roads are found all over the country in the present day, and also of many not given in the Itinerarium of the Roman Empire compiled by Antoninus in the beginning of the fourth century. A main road existed between Dover and London, which conclusively proves that a considerable traffic existed, and another road joined the town to Rutupiæ which, as has been already stated, was the port of disembarkation from the continent. It was surrounded, like all important cities, with massive walls, the remains of which are still standing. Dover also, according to some authorities, was defended with walls, and Canon Puckle affirms that he saw their remains in several parts of the town. He imagines it to have been traced from the corner of Upper Townwall Street in a straight line to the stone which marks the site of the old Snar Gate, and from thence, at right angles, up the hill to the corner of Chapel Place, to Hadrian's Gate. It was continued northward in a straight line to the Cow Gate, at the west end of Queen Street, thence to Saint Martin's Postern, from which it ran in a north-north-east direction to the North Gate in, what is now called, Biggin Street. From this gate after proceeding for a short distance in a north-east direction it turned at right angles to the south, and crossing Stembrook reached Saint Helen's Gate at the bottom of the present Castle Hill. From this point it continued in a straight line until it joined the first wall at the east end of Townwall Street. It will be seen that the space thus supposed to have been enclosed was extremely small, and we are inclined to think that in the days of the Roman occupation Dover was never defended with walls. The description given by Canon Puckle of the remains of the wall he examined in no way corresponds with the examples of

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undoubted Roman buildings, and very closely agrees with the kind of wall which we know to have been built, by command of the king, at a very much later period. To imagine that Dover was altogether left unprotected by the Romans would be absurd, but the earthworks and fortresses on the eastern heights, described in chapter xi., would have answered all necessary purposes.

Toward the end of the Roman occupation it was found necessary to strengthen the garrisons on the Kentish coast, and the Legio Secunda Augusta was brought down from the north to Rutupiæ about 379 A.D. The first cohort, which had the right of keeping the Eagle, was stationed in Dover. The remains of the magnificent bath, which filled nearly all the space between the lower foundations of St. Martin's-le-Grand, Canon Street, and St. Mary the Virgin, was built by them. According to Lyon some of the tiles found in the ruins of this bath were stamped with the letters C I B R, which he asserts stand for Cohors Prima Britannica. This second legion, originally raised by Augustus, had been sent from Germany into Britain in A.D. 43, and remained here until the final withdrawal of all Roman troops, hence its name of "Britannica". Previous to the arrival of this famous legion Dover had been garrisoned by the Tungrian auxiliaries. These troops originally formed a part of the Legio Germanica Secunda, and were recruited from the district around Aduatica or Tongern, their chief town. Remains of a Roman burial-ground have been found on the western heights, and several jars of coins have, at various times, been discovered there. Many coins have also been found in the Castle. Two beautiful gold torques were found in 1872 and 1878, and a small statue of a female was discovered during excavations for the Carlton Club amidst the ruins of

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the Roman Baths. This statue is now in the Dover Museum.

With the departure of the Romans from Britain we enter upon a period of history that is practically a blank. Tradition asserts that the Jutes, Hengist and Horsa, followed by a band of sea-rovers, landed at Ebbsfleet about the middle of the fifth century. They had been invited by the British to assist them in driving back the Picts, and received the Island of Thanet as their dwelling-place. Having once obtained a footing in Britain these fierce auxiliaries were more than unwilling to leave it, and in less than twenty-five years the whole of Kent was in their possession. All the Roman fortresses along the coast had been subdued, Dover among them. We know very little beyond the bare fact that they were captured, but they probably suffered the same fate as Anderida which, after a long blockade, was starved out, and the South Saxons rushing in "slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there henceforth one Briton left". What occurred at Dover at that time, or during the following century, will never be known. One fact alone remains clear, that, after practically destroying every Roman building and institution, and, as some assert, the entire British population, the English conquerors gradually settled down into more civilised and peaceful habits. Towards the end of the sixth century Æthelberht was King of Kent, and gained a supremacy over most of the kings ruling south of the Humber. With the return of civilisation came also the return of the continental trade, and we may credit Dover with occupying a similar, or even better position, to that which it had enjoyed in the days of the Romans. As a result of this renewed intercourse with Gaul, Æthelberht married Bertha the Christian daughter of Charibert, king of a Frankish tribe,

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and it is almost impossible to exaggerate the important influence that this event had upon the subsequent history of our island. It prepared the way for the mission of St. Augustine in 597, and opened up the southern portions of England to the civilising methods of the Christian Church. Dover Castle was very soon occupied by a devoted band of monks, who by the example of their lives rather than by their preaching won the hearts of the people. During the next two hundred years we may imagine the town growing and prospering, and the traffic with the continent and the herring fishery adding to its wealth and importance. In 691 the Priory of St. Martin-le-Grand was established in the town, having been removed from the Castle by Withred the reigning king.

Towards the end of the eighth century the shores of England were again ravaged by a continental foe, this time coming from Norway and Denmark. These Northmen or Danes were still heathen, their only religion being a religion of war and plunder. They believed that a warrior who died fighting was received by their God Odin in Valhalla, where a perpetual battle was waged between the immortal dead. All wounds received during the fierce strife were healed each night in order that all might partake of the daily feast and be prepared for a renewal of the contest on the morrow. The man unfortunate enough to die peaceably in his bed was condemned to a dreary eternity in the realms of Hela, the Norse equivalent for hell. Holding such a creed as this, it may be imagined that the Norsemen were not a foe to be despised, and the ravages they committed on the English coast were terrible and continuous. At first they came with a mere desire of plunder, and, after landing on some fertile spot, would raid and devastate the neighbouring district, load their ships with spoil, and

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sail away. There can be no doubt that Dover, with other places along the coast, suffered considerably from their visits, but it is not probable that they succeeded in destroying the fortifications on the heights. In 851 they remained the whole winter in Thanet, and sacked both Canterbury and London, but were finally defeated by Æthelwulf at Ockley in Surrey. During the next four years they permanently occupied the greater part of England, the south-eastern corner, comprising Wessex, Sussex and Kent, alone retaining its independence. In 878 the Danish king Guthrun made a successful attack upon Alfred the Great, King of Wessex, and drove him back into Somersetshire. Alfred, however, was able to renew the contest before the end of the year, and totally defeated Guthrun at a place called Ethandun. The result of this battle was the peace of Chippenham, by which Alfred was confirmed in the possession of Wessex, Sussex, Kent and a part of Mercia. Guthrun retaining the remainder of England, which henceforth became known as the "Danelagh". For over a hundred years Kent was comparatively peaceful, and it was not until 994 that a new invasion of Danes under Olaf Trygvasson and Svend caused immense destruction of property and loss of life throughout the whole of Alfred's former kingdom. It should be remembered that at the end of the tenth century the whole of England was united under the rule of one king, and that this invasion was entirely due to the incapacity of the king, Æthelred the "Unready". It was in his reign also that the English connection with Normandy began which ended so disastrously for the former state. In 1002 Æthelred married Emma sister of Richard the "Good," Duke of Normandy, who, after the death of Æthelred, was married a second time to Cnut, who became King of England in 1016. In

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Cnut's reign the country was divided into three great provinces, Northumberland, Mercia and Wessex, ruled over by earls. An Englishman, Godwine, was Earl of the West Saxons, and was, therefore, under the king, responsible for the government of Kent. He died in 1053, and was succeeded by Harold, his second son, who died at Senlac in 1066.

There are very few documents which throw any light upon the condition of the towns in England during the Saxon period, but we are fortunate in having certain information about Dover in the reign of Edward the Confessor which enables us to prove that it was a place of considerable importance in his days. In 1048, Eustache, Earl of Boulogne, visited Edward the Confessor at Gloucester where he was holding his court. "On his return, when at a short distance from Dover, Eustache and his men put on their armour, and, entering into the town in a rude manner, they proceeded to take forcible possession of the lodgings which pleased them best. This was a right which the feudal barons of the continent claimed under the title of the *droit de gîte*, and which was expressly provided against in the English municipal charters subsequent to the Conquest. One of Eustache's men went to the dwelling of a townsman, and wounded the householder because he refused to admit him. The latter seized his own weapon and slew the intruder. 'Then,' to use the words of the contemporary Saxon chronicler, 'Eustache got upon his horse, and his companions upon theirs, and they went to the householder and slew him within his own dwelling; and then went up towards the burgh, and slew, as well within as without, more than twenty men. And the townsmen slew nineteen of the count's men, and wounded they knew not how many, and Eustache escaped with only a

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few companions.' Eustache returned to the king, gave a partial account of the affair, and made him so wrath with the townsmen that he ordered Godwine, in whose Earldom of Kent the occurrence had taken place, to proceed with an army against the men of Dover. But Earl Godwine, knowing that Eustache had begun the quarrel, espoused the cause of the townsmen, and an irruption of the Welsh seems to have turned the king's attention in another direction. Four years after this, in 1052, Count Eustache again visited King Edward, and on his landing at Dover the old feud was renewed. 'Then,' says the chronicler, 'went his men inconsiderately after lodgings, and slew a certain man of the town, and then another, until seven lay slain. And much harm was then done on both sides, both with horse and with weapons, until the people gathered together, and then Eustache's men fled away till they came to the king at Gloucester.' On this second occasion Godwine more openly took the part of the townsmen of Dover, and, raising a considerable army, marched towards the king, and demanded that Count Eustache and his men should be delivered into his hands. We have here a town virtually claiming a very important municipal right, and defending it by force; while the king proceeds, not judicially against the individuals who had offended him, but against the whole corporate body, as though it were an independent state" (*Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 511 512). That Dover possessed chartered privileges of some kind is certain, for in the Domesday Book it is distinctly stated that in return for the burgesses providing twenty ships for fifteen days' service annually, without cost to the king, they were granted the rights of *sac* and *soc*. The entry in the Domesday Book is as follows:—

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Dover, in the time of King Edward, rendered 18 pounds, of which moneys King Edward had two parts, and Earl Godwine the third. . . . The burgesses gave the king 20 ships once a year for 15 days, and in each ship were 20 men. This they did in return for his having endowed them with *sac* and *soc*. When the king's messenger came there he gave them for the passage of a horse 3d. in winter, and 2d. in summer; but the burgesses found the pilot and one other to assist him, and if he wanted more it was hired at his own cost. From the festival of St. Michael to that of St. Andrew the king's truce was in the town, and if any one broke it the Reeve received a common amend. Whoever resided constantly in the town and rendered custom to the king was quit of toll throughout all England. All these customs were there when King William came to England. On his very first arrival in England the said town was burnt; and therefore no computation could be made of what it was really worth when the Bishop of Baieux received it. Now it is appraised at 40 pounds, yet the Reeve renders 54 pounds for it,—to the king, 24 pounds in pence of 20 to the ore (ounce), but to the earl 30 pounds by tale. In Dover there are 29 messuages of which the king has lost the custom.

Then follows the names of the owners, and in the midst of the houses belonging to one of them was "the Gilhalla of the burgesses".

And these all, in respect of these houses, avouch the Bishop of Baieux as their protector, liveror, and donor.

The report ends thus:—

In the entrance of the port of Dover there is a mill which shatters almost every ship by the great swell of the sea, and does great damage to the king and his men.

It will be seen, therefore, that the burgesses of Dover had several important privileges; they were permitted to assess themselves for the purposes of taxation, they had the right of trying all causes civil as well as criminal in their own courts (*sac*), and of compelling all persons residing within their liberties of pleading in those courts (*soc*): they also had the right to make a fixed charge for the passage of the king's messengers across the channel,

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The latter privilege, whilst proving that at that time Dover had become the ordinary means of communication with the continent, also points out the existence of regulations for the charges to be levied for passage to France, which later on became the source of so much profit and importance to the town. It is stated that all these customs were there when King William came to England, and the interesting question naturally arises, when did they first come into existence? It is a well established fact that the Saxons not only lost the command of the sea, but had practically forgotten the art of seamanship, and that it was owing to their inability to meet the Norsemen on the water that rendered them so easy a prey to their attacks. It was left for the commanding genius of Alfred the Great to recognise and remedy this source of weakness by building and supporting a navy, and he was the first Englishman to defeat the Danes at sea. His system of military defence was founded on the theory that every able-bodied man should help in the defence of his country, and he ordered that half of the men of each shire should always be prepared for war whilst the other half should remain at home. In dealing with a navy so universal a service would not be possible, for one essential in a good navy is that the men employed should be trained and accustomed to the sea. It was, therefore, necessary that the war vessels should be manned by the maritime population, and it can readily be understood that they, when called upon to defend the interests of the whole kingdom, would demand some special reward for their services. It is hardly possible to believe that Alfred, the greatest warrior, legislator and organiser of his age, would have overlooked the readiest means of providing the nucleus of a strong navy. It is, therefore, quite within the bounds of possibility that the

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franchises given to Dover and the other ports may have had their beginning in the days of this king. The existence of a guildhall at the conquest proves that considerable mercantile transactions were carried on by the burgesses of Dover, and, as will be seen later, the duties of providing for the transit of the straits and the herring fisheries, probably accounted for its erection. Dover, then, at the end of the Saxon supremacy was a town of considerable importance, possessing valuable municipal privileges, defended by a strong fortress on the eastern heights, the official means of communication with the continent, and the seat of a large monastic foundation, St. Martin-le-Grand.

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CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM I. TO EDWARD I., 1066-1307.

THE first notice of Dover in Norman times is that contained in the Domesday Survey. The town had been almost totally destroyed by fire by the malicious act of William I.'s troops after the castle had surrendered. The Conqueror, who understood the value of gaining the goodwill of the maritime populations on the south-eastern coast, punished his soldiers and compensated the sufferers. The extraordinary increase in the "rent" of Dover during his reign has usually been ascribed to the rapacity of Odo, but it may, with as much probability, be accredited to its increased prosperity. William, having had proof of their loyalty in the repulse of the Danish fleet in 1069, undoubtedly fostered their well-being with consistent care. When we remember the difficulty he experienced in establishing his authority over the whole of England, it is hard to overestimate the value it was to him to have the most vulnerable part of his new conquest bound to his interests. He and his successor, William II., gave charters to the Ports, which were practically a renewal of that of Edward the Confessor. Nothing is known of the service rendered during the Conqueror's reign by the Dover ships, but we may fairly credit them with some of the glory attached to the repulse of the Danish fleet. We take it, therefore, that the increase in the rent of

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the town really signifies an increase in its importance and prosperity; and it will be well to consider in detail the various sources of its growing affluence. These may be described under three heads: Free government, the herring fishery, and the passage to the continent. The privileges assured to the freemen, or, to use the Norman term, barons, under their charter have been already described in the previous chapter, and it is impossible to overestimate the advantage it gave them in following without hindrance their mercantile pursuits. Their over-lord was the king himself, who, so long as they carried out their side of the contract, could claim but a limited and well-defined service from them. They were liable to no crushing exactions, and were absolutely free to manage their own affairs in the manner best suited to their interests. They had their own courts for local matters, and the Cinque Ports' Court for interests affecting the whole of the confederation, supposing the Cinque Ports to have existed as a corporate body in William's days. The king had a representative who was styled *præpositus* or bailiff, and he received, as we have seen, one-third of the rents of the town, and was associated with the Civic rulers in its government. In the reign of Henry II. we find in the Pipe Roll the name of William Cade as returning the accounts for Dover, and as late as the reign of Henry VIII. we find this official spoken of as the bailiff. Turgis, *Præpositus* of Dover in the reign of Henry III. was appointed joint Warden of the Cinque Ports. It is not easy to determine with any accuracy the method of local government prevailing at this early stage, but the barons in all probability elected a mayor, although the term does not appear in connection with Dover until the thirteenth century, when a writ from the king is issued to the "mayors and bailiffs of the

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Cinque Ports". It may be well to explain that the freemen of the Ports were styled barons because they held their lands collectively as a barony from the king, barons and barony being the usual Norman names for tenants and tenure. The mayor,[1] having been elected, was compelled to serve the office under a penalty of having his chief house pulled down, or, at the very least, of being ejected from it. The criminal procedure in Dover exhibits some curious features, one being that a prisoner adjudged worthy of death was executed, not by the bailiff or his officer, but by the accuser himself. A felon was thrown over Sharpness Cliff, and a thief on a second conviction was condemned to lose an ear and to be turned out of the town, and any one found within the liberties of the town without an ear was executed.

The herring fishery off the coast of Norfolk was undoubtedly from prehistoric times one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the various ports in Kent and Sussex. "The received tradition is that the ports' fishermen, long before their harbours were officially recognised as 'the Cinque Ports,' took possession of a sand-bank which had formed at the mouth of the Yare, and which constituted the 'dennes,' or low salt-marshes, of the later charters. This strip of sand, at that time a sort of no-man's-land, they used for drying their nets and packing their fish for sale. This practice developed into an annual Michaelmas fair, attended by great numbers of Londoners, coast-men, and foreign fishermen from the Low Countries, France, and elsewhere. But the visits of the portsmen, though annually recurring, were short; and the neighbouring population began to form a perma-

[1] The mayor on his election selected a certain number of jurats, generally supposed to have been twelve, to assist him in ruling the town, and in administering justice.

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nent settlement, making, however, no difficulty, or at least none noticed by any tradition, as to the practical headship of the Ports in all matters concerning the fair. The position of the Portsmen was not seigniorial as to the land, though they were receiving at the earliest known date rents from lands and tenements on the island, but paramount as to all matters concerning the sale of fish, the resort of fishing vessels, the order of the fair, the removal of obstructions, and the maintenance of the beacon fires necessary for navigation. In short their place is plainly one derived from ancient prescription, and not from grant. Whoever first granted the Cinque Ports a charter, confirmed what they already possessed. The king was lord of the land at the Yare mouth, a gift of the sea which only gradually ceased to be an island. In Domesday Book it is recorded as *terra regis*, with seventy burgesses" (Burrows, *The Cinque Ports*, pp. 167-168). At the time of the conquest permanent buildings had taken the place of the old fishing huts, and the township was governed by a portreeve, appointed by the Cinque Ports. In 1108 Henry I. permitted the freemen of Yarmouth to appoint a local provost, who thus supplanted the officer sent from the Cinque Ports. The settled state of the channel during the reigns of the two Williams naturally assisted the development of this important industry, and in some degree will account for the increased prosperity of Dover. The value of this fishery has from time immemorial until the present day been extremely great, and was certainly one of the most fruitful sources of profit to the Five Ports. Their annual assembly, called the "Brodhull," seems to have been at first almost entirely concerned with matters connected with the Yarmouth fair and fishing grounds.

The passage to the continent was another source of

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wealth to the town. As we have seen in the Domesday Book a special rate was payable by the king's messenger on crossing the channel, and may be taken as the first historical mention of any regulation for a fixed tariff for "transfretation" to France. There can be no doubt that the conquest materially increased the number of passengers and volume of the "goods traffic," and the formation of a company of shipowners to meet the continual calls for transport to and from the continent may be placed at an early date. Henry III. in 1227 issued an order that no one should cross the water to any port save Dover, and in the reign of Edward I. the traffic had become so large as to have got beyond the control of the "Warden of the Port," and the king took measures for regulating it. Here again we see a fair reason to account for the progress evinced in the prosperity of the town during the reign of William I. In the year 1159 the reeve returns to the king £51 for the rent of the town, and for the "*nova firma*," from the passage tax, "64s. 6d.".

We have very little data to go upon as to the appearance or size of the town in the century following the conquest, but the harbour, which could not ever have been a very large one, was probably situated where St. James's Street and Russell Street now are. The first notice we have of it is in the Domesday Book, and shows that the entry must have been narrow. The history of Dover harbour is a record of continuous disasters; from the Bishop of Bayeux's mill, "which shattered almost every ship," to the new pier in the present day, each succeeding effort has been destined to failure, and we can only hope that the imperial harbour now in course of construction will finally settle a matter which has tested the patience of Dovorians for nineteen centuries. The ruins of the

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Priory of St. Martin-le-Grand and the Church of St. Mary the Virgin are the only buildings existing in those days now standing, and are the only means of gauging the extent of the town seawards. It is probable that the sea washed a pebble beach which stretched from the foot of the cliff near St. James's Church to the cliff somewhere near the eastern end of Snargate Street. It is supposed that vessels were capable of passing up the river, which then ran into the sea under the Castle Cliff, to Buckland, and that the harbour was there, but in the plans of Dover published in the sixteenth century and later there is no sign of any settlement sufficiently large to warrant us in believing that the town ever stretched beyond the Maison Dieu. The ships of those days were extremely small and were capable of being drawn up on the beach, and a harbour had no need to be of a magnificent size to be useful. We may believe that the river was deeper, although it can never have brought down any great volume of water.

There is practically little else to record of the doings of the Dovorians during the twelfth century. The following extract from *The Cinque Ports* says all that can be said about this period with any certainty: "One result of the conquest was to turn the British Channel into an Anglo-Norman arm of the sea, which became under the Angevin kings still more the exclusive possession of monarchs who governed half of France from their island throne; but with the reign of John it became, almost for the first time, a dividing water between hostile forces. The iron hand of the first three Norman sovereigns was sufficiently felt far and near to deter marauders from the old piratical descents upon the coast, and to paralyse or disperse the greater enterprises which under weak sovereigns would have renewed the series of invasions

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from the north. William Rufus and Henry I. were to the full as 'stark' as their father. The chronicles are singularly obscure as to the composition of the fleets which were called out on different occasions by the conqueror and his successor, but as both gave charters to the ports we should expect that the contingent which they supplied would form a part of such fleets, perhaps of that which was lost on the Scottish expedition of 1091. William Rufus was not at all likely to let their ship-service sleep. Henry I. and Stephen gave no charter, nor do we hear of the ports collectively during their reigns; but when we come to that of Henry II. the frequent mention made by his sons of the charters which he had conferred upon the Cinque Ports points to the reinvigoration of the system" (pp. 69, 70).

If we add that during the reign of Henry II. a considerable increase of the trade with Flanders occurred, and a very profitable traffic with Aquitaine for wines helped to enrich the various ports, we have practically stated everything that is known of Dover in the twelfth century. Richard I., it is true, started from Dover on his crusading expedition, but his fleet was mainly collected from the ports on the south-west coast and did not much affect the town.

The year 1216 saw Dover occupied by the army of Louis the Dauphin of France, and there is evidence to show that hostages were taken from the barons to ensure their neutral conduct. The town had remained faithful to John in spite of his many shortcomings, whilst London had sided with his enemies, and we find traces of considerable ill-feeling having arisen between them on this account. In 1225 a mandate was issued to Geoffrey de Lucy, "Warden of the King's Coast," Hubert Huse and the barons of the Five Ports, enjoining them to do no hurt

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to the merchants of London going or coming to or from the continent.

With the reign of John commences a series of notices in the Patent Rolls which give us several important items of information concerning the town. In 1205 a new charter was granted to each of the various ports, and Dover was to enjoy the same privileges it had under the charter of Edward the Confessor. The "Honours in our Court," and the right of "den and strond" (use of shore and quay) at Yarmouth, and the charge of the king's "peace and justice" at the same place are granted to all the Cinque Ports alike. The privileges of the Court at Shepway were also confirmed, and, as it would appear that the itinerant justices of Henry II. had encroached upon the chartered rights of the Ports in trying civil and criminal cases within their liberties, this concession must have proved a considerable inducement to the barons to fit out the fleet which the king desired to enable him to recover his lost territory of Normandy. The "Honours in our Court" referred to in these charters was a recognition of the right of the barons of the Cinque Ports to select four of their number to carry a silken canopy, supported by four long lances, over the king at the coronation ceremony, and to sit at the right hand of the sovereign at the coronation banquet. The first recorded instance of their fulfilling this gratifying privilege was at the coronation of Richard I., but as it was then referred to as an "ancient custom" it may certainly be presumed to have existed for a considerable period of time. At the coronation of Henry III. the barons' right to this honour was disputed by the Lords Marchers, but this opposition was overruled, and no further dispute is recorded until the coronation of George III., when an attempt was made to deprive them of their seat at the right hand of the king.

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In 1208, when the Pope laid an interdict upon the kingdom, the barons wavered in their allegiance to John, who rapidly proceeded against them with a hired fleet of fifty galleys and reduced them to obedience. They were punished by being compelled to buy back the king's favour, the price they paid, however, is not recorded. The Pope's bull of excommunication was for a considerable time kept out of England by the activity of the portsmen, and when he arrogantly gave the Crown of England to the King of France they threw themselves with ardour into the war against that monarch. They furnished the greater part of William de Longspée's fleet which delivered such a crushing defeat (*vide* page 323) upon the French fleet in 1213. It is from this time that the "barons of the Cinque Ports advanced to their place in the roll of English heroes. Perhaps till now the confederation had not, in respect of its Crown service, been looked upon as much more than a trustworthy force for guarding the narrow seas. It was now called out into the premier rank of the national forces, and became their acknowledged head." It is generally believed that King John issued orders to his ships that they should make all foreign vessels strike sails to them in the narrow seas, if this be true it speaks volumes for the reputation that the Cinque Ports' fleet had obtained at that time; and it is certain that Edward I. actually did so order. What part Dover took in these enterprises is not separately discoverable, but we may be assured that its barons did their full part.

During the stormy reign of Henry III., Dover, with the other ports, passed through many vicissitudes. Constant demands were made upon them for fulfilling their chartered duties, and their ships were constantly called out on the king's service. One especial duty seems to have been

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given them amongst others, *viz.*, that they should assist the Governor of the Channel Islands in defending his charge. To add to the troubles which came upon them owing to the disturbed state of the kingdom they were fully occupied with a pretty little quarrel of their own which had raged between them and the men of Yarmouth since it had been made a free borough, with all the usual privileges, in 1209. During the last eight years of the reign of John the annual fair became a scene of furious strife between the portsmen and the inhabitants of Yarmouth and the neighbouring towns on the east coast. Yarmouth endeavouring to throw off the ancient control of the Ports, the Ports clinging to their ancient privilege with greater tenacity as the assertion of it became more difficult. Neither was the strife confined to that locality, for conflicts between the two contending parties continually took place on the high sea.

The king and his council interfered on more than one occasion, but without much effect, and it was not until the reign of Edward I. that any effective steps were taken to check this internecine strife. The disastrous effect upon the fishing industry may well be imagined, and must, with the French war, have considerably checked the growing prosperity of the town. So violent was the ill-feeling engendered that the king found it necessary to issue a special mandate to the barons not to attack the Yarmouth vessels whilst engaged in conveying the queen to France in the year 1254.

In the year 1231 the king granted to a foreign nobleman, Simon de Montfort, the earldom of Leicester, which he claimed through his grandmother, and five years later he arrived in England to attend the marriage of the king. The important part that de Montfort played in English history is well known, and it was

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partly owing to the zeal with which the men of the Cinque Ports attached themselves to his party that he was enabled to exercise so overwhelming an influence in the kingdom. It is curious to note that de Montfort, himself a foreigner, became the recognised head of the discontented barons whose chief cause of complaint against the king was his exaltation of Provençals and Poitevins over the heads of the native nobility. This, coupled with the exactions of the Pope, which were encouraged by the king, were the main sources of a growing discontent which soon developed into open rebellion.

In 1233 Peter de Rivallis of Poitou was made custodian of the port of Dover with all the emoluments attached to the office. He was a foreigner much esteemed by the king and had at various times many important posts in the kingdom. In the same year he was also made Custos of Sussex and Surrey for life, and Constable of Guildford, Hastings and Pevensey Castles, and a few months later Custos of Kent and sixteen other counties, and keeper of the forests of England. He is one of the numerous instances of those days of an ecclesiastic being knighted and occupying a different position to that which his clerical vows entitled him to take. On the rebellion of the barons against the king he was removed from his offices and was for a time imprisoned in the Tower at London.

The king sent to Dover in 1238 requesting six of the barons to come to him to "talk with the king on his business". It appears that "Scotch malefactors" had caused much damage to his shipping, and they were called upon to send one ship and eleven galleys to punish them. A similar request was made to the other ports, and the service was performed jointly. As this is one of the earliest mentions made of the Cinque Ports'

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galleys it may be well to describe the class of vessel which the Five Ports supplied for the king's service at this period of their history. The ships were nothing more than great boats from twenty to fifty tons burden, and generally much nearer the former than latter size. These boats were built with bow and stern both curving upwards, and were fitted with one mast, which carried one square sail. In times of peace these vessels were used for mercantile purposes, but when called out for the king's service a "castle" or open square box was rigged up both at the stern and bow, a smaller castle was also hoisted to the top of the mast before an engagement commenced, the object of these erections being to give the fighting men an opportunity of sweeping the enemy's decks. The vessels were steered with oars, worked over the quarter, and not by rudders. If the galleys of those days resembled in any way those of later date they were boats of about 160 feet in length and twenty-two or more in beam. They were covered with a single sloping deck, rising from close to the water-line to the "corsia," which was a well some six feet wide, rising above the deck and running fore and aft, from which access was obtained to the various chambers in the hold. The rowers were seated on raised benches on each side of the corsia, and in bad weather the water shipped would run under their feet and out of the scuppers. A platform for the fighting men was built fore and aft, and in later days they were supplied with cannon. To enable them to pursue the tactics so dear to English sailors of all ages of running down their enemy, the galleys were often provided with metal beaks.

From the fragmentary remains of the Ports' Domesday Book we find that Dover furnished twenty-one ships during the thirteenth century. Each ship was manned

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by twenty-one men and a boy, and a little later a master and boatswain as well.

The Ports were called upon to assist Henry in his futile expedition to France in 1242, when he endeavoured by force of arms to re-establish his waning power in Poitou. Finding himself powerless to carry out his design he issued a mandate to the barons of all the Ports to harass the coasts of Brittany, Normandy and Boulogne with fire and sword. To the best of their ability the portsmen loyally carried out his instructions, but Louis IX. was able to despatch immensely superior forces against them, and they were driven back with irreparable loss of ships, men, and goods. The king, powerless in Bordeaux, was compelled to make an ignoble truce for five years, surrendering all claims to Poitou, and was brought back by the Cinque Ports' fleet in July, 1243. Dover, with the other ports, suffered severely as a result of this ill-judged expedition of the king; the fishing industry was for a time practically destroyed, and a feeling of irritation was engendered among the portsmen which bore ill fruit in the near future. The truce with France brought a return of prosperity, and with the exception of finding several small services of ships, and the presentation of a gift of jewels to the king on his return from Gascony in 1254, no other record of importance is to be found until the years of the barons' rebellion, unless we except the fact that in 1256 the proceeds of the toll on passengers was devoted to the defence of the Castle.

The ill-feeling against the king came to a head in 1258, when Henry, in spite of the fact that thousands of Englishmen were dying of starvation in consequence of a bad harvest, demanded one-third of the whole revenue of England for the Pope. The "Mad Parlia-

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ment" appointed a committee of twenty-four to reform the realm, and the report of this committee was submitted to the famous Parliament which met at Oxford in the same year. Their report was adopted, and is generally known as the "Provisions of Oxford". The chief point in these provisions was the appointment of a council of fifteen, without whose advice no act of the king was valid. Another result of this Parliament was that the offices of state were filled by members of the baronial party. The Constable of Dover Castle was changed, and Hugh Bigod, an upright and capable man, was appointed. Dover Castle was destined to play an important part in the stormy events which occurred in the next six years, and the townsmen, from the beginning in favour of the barons, were compelled to submit to ever-changing masters. In 1262 the king had regained his power, and Dover again came under his officers, but in the next year the barons for a short time held the Castle, had to yield it, and again seized it. No better sign of the tumult which reigned in Dover during the year 1263 can be given than the fact that patents for seven different Constables were issued during that year. The *Mise* of Amiens at the beginning of 1264 handed the Castle over to the king, but the portsmen, resisting the arbitration of the King of France, supported the barons and resisted the king's party. Prince Edward reduced them temporarily to submission, but was himself defeated in the battle of Lewes in June, and was handed over as a hostage to Simon de Montfort. He was brought to the Castle and kept as a prisoner there for a time. Simon de Montfort was now supreme, and levying a tenth on the clergy he handed the proceeds to the barons of the Cinque Ports wherewith to build new vessels to guard the narrow seas. So active were the portsmen that they

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prevented the queen crossing from Flanders with an army intended to subdue the earl. The Pope having placed the Cinque Ports with the citizens of London and Simon de Montfort under an interdict, the seamen of the Ports were ordered to intercept the bulls before they could reach the shore. They were fortunate enough to board the vessel in which they were being conveyed, and, tearing them into innumerable pieces, tossed them into the channel. In 1265 Prince Edward and the Earl of Gloucester defeated de Montfort at Evesham, who with his son Henry, the Warden, was slain during the fight. Entirely committed as it was to the late earl's cause, Dover still further opposed the king by making itself the very centre of all who were still disaffected. The earl's eldest son, Simon, was permitted to place himself at the head of the Cinque Ports' fleet, and to commit various depredations upon those who had remained unshaken in their allegiance. It was not until October that Prince Edward was able to take the Castle, and thus quell the rebellion in Dover. The final pacification of the other ports was not obtained until March, 1266, and it says much for the wisdom of the prince that in spite of their bitter opposition to him and the royal cause his victory was signalised by nothing but clemency. By a similar lenient treatment the remainder of the late earl's followers were induced to return to their allegiance, and a period of profound peace allowed the nation time to recover itself from the disasters of the last six years. Prince Edward was appointed Warden, and Constable of the Castle, but Sir Stephen de Pencestre acted as his deputy. A step was taken which brought the town closer to the rule of the Castle, *viz.*, that of making the Constable "custos" of the port as well. This appointment marks the beginning of that para-

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mount influence in the affairs of the Town which in the near future the Warden managed to obtain. It should be noted that Dover sent up four barons to the Parliament summoned by Simon de Montfort, and, as the other Ports and two Ancient Towns did the same, the confederation was represented by twenty-eight members.

So satisfactory was the settlement of the affairs of state made by Prince Edward that he was able to leave England on a crusade, and even on the death of Henry III. in 1272, when he succeeded to the throne, he did not think it necessary to return to this country until two years had elapsed.

An important matter connected with the Cinque Ports soon demanded his attention, *viz.*, the long-standing quarrel with Yarmouth, which had increased in intensity as soon as the barons had leisure to attend more closely to their own affairs.

In 1277 the king published an edict by which he endeavoured to effect a permanent settlement of this difficult question. The ancient rights of the Ports were recognised, but the Yarmouth Corporation was practically placed on an equal footing with the Brodhull. The rights of "den and strond," without payment of custom, were reserved to the portsmen, but the seigniorial rights were henceforth vested in the borough. Yarmouth was allowed to erect five windmills, and the Ports to recover their rents by writ. The Cinque Ports retained their rights of justice and of keeping peace at the fair for forty days, with four sergeants, one of whom might carry the Ports' banner, another the brazen horn, and the other two a rod to keep the peace. These sergeants were allowed to execute their office on horseback. The court was to be composed in future of Yarmouth justices as well as those of the Cinque Ports, and the prison was

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also to be governed by a joint commission. The barons were still held responsible for lighting the beacon fires, and received twopence a night for each fire, but if they failed to perform this duty regularly Yarmouth was entitled to claim the money and right of doing the work. The customs were no longer to be the sole property of the Cinque Ports, but a fixed sum of £6 per annum was to be paid to them out of the whole, and they were to be levied jointly. Yarmouth was prohibited from placing guards on board vessels, and thus preventing the sale of fish (*Jeake*). This "dite" failed altogether in keeping the peace between the two contending parties, for in 1289 we find an order issued to the good men of Yarmouth and the barons of the Cinque Ports and other men of the ports of Gascony, Poitou and Brittany to "desist from their disputes, and to appear before the king in Parliament to explain their grievances, and to abide by such orders as shall then be made". The Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Stephen de Pencestre, is also ordered to keep the peace between them. In 1297 a terrible affray between the contending parties took place before the eyes of the king himself, which resulted in what has been described as a "frightful carnage".

Dover furnished a proportion of ships for the Welsh expedition in 1277, and it is noteworthy that the assistance they rendered in completely blockading the coast enabled the king to secure a more complete victory than had ever before been gained over "tight little Wales". For the services of the Ports in this campaign Edward granted them the famous charter of 1278, by which, besides receiving a confirmation of all their old privileges, certain new favours were bestowed upon them. Wardship and marriage, "that grievous abuse of feudalism which had come in since the Norman conquest," was done away

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with, and they were finally confirmed in the enjoyment of their own legal system in connection with lands held outside the boundaries of their liberties.

In 1282 the final subjugation of Wales was completed, the Cinque Ports' fleet reducing the Isle of Anglesey, and constructing a bridge over the Menai Straits, during which operation they suffered a considerable loss in men and ships.

The king's claim to be recognised as lord paramount of Scotland eventually led to a war with that kingdom: and France, ever viewing with envy the English possessions in that country, was not slow to take every opportunity of stirring up a strife which would enable her to prosecute her designs on Guienne whilst Edward was engaged in Scotland. As soon as the king appeared to be threatened with trouble in the north we find a deliberate attempt made by the Norman sailors to stir up strife between France and England. At first some petty engagements were fought at sea between the portsmen and their Norman rivals, but growing bolder, the Frenchmen not only waylaid ships proceeding to and from the continent, but also, uniting their forces, paraded their ships before the ports "with the bodies of Englishmen whom they had slain hanging alternately with the carcases of dogs from their yardarms". Such provocation was not to be endured, and a fierce battle was fought off St. Mahé on 14th April, 1293, in which the French were decisively defeated. So eager was Edward to arrest a quarrel with France, which would place him between two fires, that he threatened the Ports with severe penalties. They, thoroughly roused and incensed by the depredations of the French, defied the king and his council, and carried on the contest. Edward was too wise a sovereign to press the matters too far, and on war breaking out in the

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following year he called upon the barons to supply a fleet of fifty ships, of which Dover furnished seven, and ravaged the French coast with great vigour. It was unfortunate for Dover that affairs in Scotland prevented the king from prosecuting the war with France to any purpose, for in 1295 the French sailors swept the channel, and landing in Dover inflicted such damage that the town was unable to recover from it for a very considerable period. Aided by a certain Thomas de Turbeville, an English subject whom the French had taken prisoner, Philip, with a fleet of about 300 ships, anchored off Dover on August 1, and a force of 15,000 men having been landed, they proceeded to sack and burn the town. The inhabitants at first took to flight, but later in the day, assisted by a military force, they furiously attacked the invaders, and drove them off with a loss of 5000 men; or, if we may believe the *Chronicle of London*, with even greater loss, for it is therein stated that "they were sclayn every moder's son; ther escaped none". De Turbeville, who fled to Wales, was captured and executed. The town seems to have been entirely destroyed, the only building of importance which escaped being the Maison Dieu. The following account is given of this raid in Langtoft's *Chronicle*:—

Taunt cum les cardinales de la pes parlaint,
Les gens de Normendie suz Dover arivaint,
En la compaignie les Kauleys estaint.
En la vile de Dover sodainement entraint,
E parti du burge arder comeyndaynt;
Des joevenes e des vels xiii. homes tuyant.
Quant midrent à la cunte x. pur un lessaint.
Li gardain du Chastel e cels qe manaynt
En meismes de la celle, ke bien se gwiaint,
Se pristrent à defense, e les escriaint;
Normaunz e Picards, ke forfet avaint,
Furent degagés; les chapels demorraint

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Ouf le Chef des uns, les autres s'en alaint,
Un moygne i fu pur rein, à ki. xx. enclinaint,
E si les assolt, mot plus ne savaint.

Thus translated by Robert of Brunne:—

Als pes was mad of partie thorgh cardinals that com over,
The folk of Normandie aryved up at Dover,
And men of Caleis camen with tham wele I wene,
To brenne the toun alle samen and slough men thrittene.
The wardeyn herd it telle of the castelle biside,
A monke of a celle bare him wele that tide.
Thei sette so wele ther wardes and stifly samen stode,
That Normanz and Pikardes left bothe hede [and] hode.
A monke ther was I wene he slouh tuenti,
Ther hedes quyte and clene he laid tham bi and bi.

The last couplet hardly does justice to the grim jest of the original, which pictures the twenty as kneeling to the monk, whose words of absolution were the last they were destined to hear.

It has generally been supposed that Dover was defended by a wall in the days of William the Conqueror, some even maintaining that the Romans had thus protected it. The fact that the French were enabled to land a force and do so much damage within a few hours appears to us to be incontestable proof that at this period the town must have been entirely without any such defence, excepting perhaps a sea wall. The earliest notice of a "wall tax" for Dover occurs shortly after this disaster, and it seems highly probable that the first walls were built about this time as a protection against any future raids.

In 1297 the king sailed for Flanders, accompanied by the fleet of the Cinque Ports and vessels gathered from other ports, to head in person an attack upon Philip of France. Arrived on the Swyn, the troops had no sooner begun to disembark than the "frightful carnage" of the men of Yarmouth already referred to took place.

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The portsmen, perhaps infuriated by some incident of the voyage, rushed to arms, "and in the fury of the attack burnt more than twenty ships of the Yarmouth seamen, putting to the sword as many of their crews as they could lay hands on; nor, though the king commanded them to desist, was he able to restrain their insane violence". As the portsmen were not punished, we may presume that they had some just cause for this outbreak, which, dreadful as it was, produced a useful *dite* from the king in the following year, which at least secured a fair amount of toleration in their future dealings with the men of Yarmouth. The edict enjoined upon the master and two leading seamen of each ship the taking of a "sacred corporal oath" before the mayor and bailiff, that they and their men would keep the peace, and arrest those who broke it by sea or land and present them for judgment under the orders of the Warden (*Cinque Ports*).

In the following year the barons of Dover lodged a serious complaint, "set forth in divers articles signed with their common seal," against the Constable of the Castle and Warden of the Ports, and the king issued a commission to Ralph de Sandwich and John de Baugwell to "inquire by a jury of the Cinque Ports touching the complaints against Robert de Burghersh by the barons and commonalty of the town of Dover, and to report fully on everything so that the king and council on inspection may render judgment". It does not appear what the charges were, but as de Burghersh was continued in the office, to which he had just been appointed, they do not seem to have been proved.

Considerable fiscal trouble was caused by the importation of false money, and by the habit of clipping coins to a very serious extent; and in 1283 we find the Custos of

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the port also appointed guardian of the seaboard of Dover and Sandwich to examine all moneys coming in ships from foreign ports in order to check this growing evil. In the last year of the century a money-changer's table was established in the town, under the law touching false money, and Michael de Wyncestre was the first clerk appointed to it. As has been already stated, the Constable was the governor of the port, but it seems to have been the invariable custom up to this period to appoint a "surrogate" of the Constable, whose chief duty consisted in looking after the town's shipping interests. Their names will be found among the deputies of the Wardens of the period.

The last year of the thirteenth century furnishes evidence that if the French depredation in 1295 affected the appearance of the town for a considerable period, it had not inflicted any irremediable blow upon the prosperity of the freemen. The king, having made peace with France, called upon the Cinque Ports to assist him with their fleet in his second invasion of Scotland. Dover supplied eight ships, a number which, when compared with the five from Winchelsea, four from Hythe, and ten between Sandwich (three), Rye (three), Hastings (two), and Romney (two), shows that the material prosperity of the town had by no means decreased. The vessels supplied, also, on this occasion were generally of a larger type, manned by larger crews; seven cogs, the largest sailing vessels of the day, are mentioned as being amongst the ships sent. The whole of this fleet was commanded by a distinguished portsman from Winchelsea, Gervase Alard, who was appointed admiral, and assisted by four captains, one of whom was John (?) de Aula of Dover. The chaplain was Robert de Sandwich, and he received the same pay as the boatswain, *viz.*, 6d. a day. The

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portsmen were of considerable service to the king during the campaigns in 1303 and 1306.

Several of the sailors left the king's service without permission, and the Warden with John de Northwode were employed on a commission to inquire into their conduct. In 1304 a levy of twenty ships was made upon the Ports for service against Flanders, but Dover was exempted from furnishing either men or vessels. The fleet was again employed in Scotland, Dover finding her usual proportion. It will be sufficient to add that with the death of Edward I., which took place in July, 1307, began the gradual decline of the Ports as the first naval power of the kingdom.

In 1298 the king granted a charter to Dover and six other towns, in which they were made "quit of all tallage and aids payable from their own ships". And as regards the merchandise which they may buy in Ireland, "no one shall participate with them against their will". "Also all persons born within the Cinque Ports may marry according to the liberty of the Ports, although they may hold lands outside, and, therefore, their marriage, by reason of minority, belongs to the king."

John de la Sale, a citizen of Dover, received a gift from the king of the "Cogge Scarlate of Santander, with all her fittings," as he was going on the king's service to Scotland. This was probably some prize taken from the enemy.

Another citizen, Nicolas Archer, received licence to export corn and other victuals to Gascony "as he meant to bring back wine". In the succeeding reign he was made Bailiff of Sandwich, and received a gift of land, the king being in his debt for passage provided for the queen.

John Oxe, also of Dover, received full pardon for the murder of a Canterbury citizen, "for good service in

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Scotland". This gallant soldier, but indifferent character, found it necessary to appeal for further royal protection, as five years later we find a second writ of pardon issued to him "for divers robberies and felonies and other trespasses, and of the outlawry incurred thereby".

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CHAPTER IV.

EDWARD II. TO EDWARD III., 1307-1377.

To the beginning of the reign of Edward II. may most fitly be ascribed the enclosing of the town with walls. It is not without hesitation that we put aside the statement made by Captain Burrows in his *Cinque Ports* that "Dover alone was certainly walled in Norman times," but in the absence of any direct record of the fact, and the easy capture of the town recorded in the previous chapter, we are induced to believe that it was not until the fourteenth century had commenced that walls were first built. It is worthy of notice that no repairs to any of the gates are recorded until the fifteenth century had well set in, although the accounts of the town exist from 1365. Those who claim a still earlier date, like the late Canon Puckle, partly base their arguments on the fact that two of the gates were named after two Roman emperors, Hadrian and Severus. This is very insufficient proof to adduce against the fact that nothing at all approaching the remains of a Roman wall has yet been discovered. Moreover, gates with such names do not appear in any of the older documents connected with Dover. The direction of the old walls may be traced with a fair amount of exactitude, especially as portions of them existed until comparatively modern times. The naming of the gates presents greater diffi-

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culties. According to the best authorities the wall starting from the foot of the Castle hill was pierced by an opening called Eastbrook Gate. From thence, in a south-westerly direction, the wall ran down to the sea, where the important "Sea Gate" stood. According to Lyon, the wall was pierced between Eastbrook Gate and the sea by St. Helen's Gate and a fisherman's postern, both near the old harbour. The Sea Gate, called also "Butchery" or "Cochery" Gate, was in all probability the entry into the harbour, as a bridge at Cochery Gate is spoken of in 1475. The wall was continued along Townwall Street to Boldware Gate, which stood near Bench Street. This would appear to be the gate named Severus by Lyon, and said by him to have been used as the office of the king's custom officer. "Here was a place paved with stone, where the merchants used to transact business, and in course of time it was called Pennyless Bench." In earlier days the market seems to have been held here, and it is curious that a similar name was given to a bench near Carfax in Oxford, which was used by the hucksters and butter women of that city. Near to Boldware in the wall was a tower called "Standfast," mentioned in 1428, which was in use as the mayor's prison in the sixteenth century. Mr. Lyon's identification of the remains of this tower, partly standing in his day, with St. Nicholas' Church, is unquestionably wrong. It was called Marshes or Prison Tower (vol. i., p. 135). The next opening was called Snar Gate, built about 1370, and sometimes called Pier Gate. We believe this to have been a sluice gate which afforded an exit to the river after the old harbour became useless. The position of this gate is still marked by an inscribed tablet. It was taken down in 1588, the new harbour works having rendered it useless. The wall then turning

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to the north was pierced by the Upwall Gate, but why it is called "Adrian's" by Mr. Lyon we have not been able to discover. The New Gate "at Wenlocks Clyffe" is mentioned in 1596, but we cannot place it. The Cow Gate leading to the Common was also in the north face of the wall, as well as the Wall Gate, originally a postern to the Priory. A tower called Tinker's existed about 1470 somewhere in the north wall, and it would seem probable that several towers, whose names and positions have alike been lost, were erected between the gates. The last gate in the circuit of the walls was "Bekyn," or Biggin as it is now generally written, and was apparently the main entry into the town from the land side. This gate was demolished about 1750, and the Cow Gate in 1776. It will be seen, therefore, that the town was originally very small, extending from St. James's Church in the east to the top of Snargate Street in the west; and from Townwall Street to the cliff above Adrian Street and Saxon Street in the north. Small as the space enclosed was, it sufficed the needs of the population until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the town began to extend towards what is now known as the Pier District. A considerable part of the town was occupied by ecclesiastical buildings, *viz.*, St. Martin-le-Grand, St. Mary the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. James the Apostle. A description of these churches will be found in chapter x., and nothing further need be said about them here.

At some date posterior to the Conquest the number of ships provided by Dover was increased from twenty to twenty-one, and we find that the town was divided into a similar number of wards, termed in 1429 Bekyn, Burman, Bullys, Canon, Castledene, Derman, Delfys, Deeper, Halfguden, Horsepol, Moryns, Nankyn, Ox, Snargate, Syngyl,

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St. Mary, St. George, St. Nicholas, Upmarket, Werston, and Wolvys. At different periods the names of the wards were changed; in 1470 Bochery and Shipman are mentioned, and later the Hither and Lower parts of North and South Pier were added. The names of the above wards are taken from a record dated 1429, but they probably existed under much the same names at a considerably earlier period.

Each ward seems to have had a representative whose duty it was to see that the watchmen did their duty, and that proper precautions were taken to prevent and put out fires. At a time when the houses were built almost entirely of wood, fire was a constant source of public danger, and every householder, under the penalty of a fine of "xxid." was compelled to have a tub full of water outside his door every night. Each ward was also licensed to use one vessel as a passenger boat to Witsand, and they were thus encouraged to have always ready the right number of serviceable boats which, under their charter, they owed the king.

That this passenger traffic was a considerable source of profit every reference to it in contemporary records conclusively proves, but it was also at this period, and had been for some time, equally a source of much disorder and riot. By royal charters, given with the consent of Parliament, it was enacted "that no pilgrims shall pass out of our realm to foreign parts except from Dover under the penalty of imprisonment for one year," so that the ordinary traffic with the continent was enormously increased by the perpetual flow of pilgrims. As early as the reign of Edward I. the transport of so many passengers was attended with so much difficulty that the king was called upon to interfere, but whatever the steps were which were taken to settle the matter they were not

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successful. The vessels engaged in this business seem to have been owned by a company, and it appears that in their hands the passage across the channel was made a means of extortion. The rich could easily obtain the services of a vessel to carry them across the straits, but the poor, unable to pay the prices demanded, were allowed to accumulate in dangerous numbers within the town. As a result, riots and tumults disturbed the peace of Dover, and many of the citizens suffered considerable loss in consequence. The wealthier of the ship-owners also prevented, by unfair means, the poorer members of the company from carrying passengers at a cheaper rate, and sometimes from exercising their rights altogether, a course of action which naturally led to ill-feeling and riot. The corporation of Dover have in their muniment chest a charter of Edward II., granted in the sixth year of his reign, which enacts that, "whereas debates, contentions and riots have often taken place in the town of Dover, to the great peril and loss of the whole commonalty of the town, so that by them many have been impoverished and likely to be ruined, because they could not pass with their ships, nor gain, like as the powerful and rich did, it is agreed and assented by all members of the company called fferschip, that is to wit [twenty-one names of the members of the Fellowship are here given] that from henceforth no passenger ship pass except in turn, that is to wit, each ship three fares as soon as it can well be done. And after three fares are done and completed that ship shall not pass or make passage until all the passenger ships which are in the company of the fferschip have made in the same way their three fares, so that the same ships be found good and sufficient by the warden, who for that purpose shall be chosen and assigned." A penalty of 100s. for breach of these regulations

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was enacted, which was to be levied by the bailiff, and delivered by him to the Warden of the Cinque Ports.

With reference to the passage, it may be stated that until the capture of Calais the usual route for travellers was that by Dover to Witsand. Several disputes arose between the men of the two ports, and in the reign of Edward III. they became so serious that the passage was impeded to a considerable extent. The Warden appointed his justices to inquire into the merits of the case, and they were able to settle the outstanding grievances, and, what was more useful, persuaded them to agree upon a fixed time when vessels could pass unmolested, in case of future troubles. In the reign of Edward III. it was settled that the tariff for passage across the straits should be, for a horseman, "ijs.," and for a footman, "vjd.".

It may be well to note here that, from the time when Parliament began its regular sittings in the reign of Edward I., the Cinque Ports had a well-recognised right to a full representation. We have seen that in Simon de Montfort's time four barons were summoned from each of the ports and the two ancient towns, or twenty-eight in all, and, although in succeeding reigns each port supplied only two members, we find from 1322 that this number was regularly summoned. They do not appear, however, to have sent representatives until 1366. Up to the time that Parliament was finally separated into an Upper and Lower House, which occurred in 1341, the barons seemed to have occupied "a middle place between the superior clergy and baronage on the one hand, and the inferior clergy, knights, citizens and burgesses on the other". After 1341 they took their place in the House of Commons, although their title of baron was used in Parliament for several centuries.

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It is necessary also to notice another change which had a considerable effect upon Dover and the other ports. Under their ancient chartered privileges they had been exempt from all assessment of national taxation, but with the system brought into vogue by Parliament of voting a revenue raised by a tax of a tenth, fifteenth or twenty-fifth on movables, the Ports were compelled to find their share of the national expenditure. In 1310 Robert de Kendall, the Warden, and Henry de Cobeham, the younger, were appointed to assess and levy the twenty-fifth granted by Parliament for the expenses of the war with Scotland in the county of Kent. "In case the barons wish to make a fine in lieu of the twenty-fifth, they are to give them a day to appear before the barons of the exchequer. They must come with full powers, or else the levy will be collected forthwith." This shows that whilst henceforward the portsmen were not to be exempted from bearing their share of the national burden, they were allowed to pay a gross sum, assessing it and collecting it in their own way. An instance of this method of payment occurs at the end of the previous reign, and we may suppose that a similar process was adopted even in earlier times. In 1304 the fine paid by the Cinque Ports amounted to 2000 marcs, of which Hastings paid 700, and the other four ports 1300 between them.

One of the first services that the men of Dover performed for the new king, Edward II., was in supplying a portion of the fleet which conveyed him to France on his marriage with Isabella, daughter of King Philip. The king and his bride, who were supposed to be the "handsomest pair in the world" landed at Dover on 2nd February, 1308, and remained two days in the Castle. Piers Gaveston, the king's favourite, met them, and the

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queen was much annoyed at the familiarity with which he was treated.

Sterner duties, however, awaited them than that of escorting their king on a peaceful mission, for in 1310 their ships were called upon to assist in the Scottish wars, and again in 1314. Both these expeditions were destined to accomplish little, and the subsequent battle of Bannockburn on 24th June filled the portsmen with no extra zeal for the king's service. It is said that they refused to bring their fleet in the succeeding year to Skymburness, the usual rendezvous of the fleet during the Scottish wars. A serious charge was brought against the men of Dover and the other ports at the beginning of this reign of committing acts of piracy against the merchants of Flanders, and a commission was appointed in 1310 to inquire into the merits of the charge. It seems to have done very little in the way of suppressing them, for we find that the attacks on these merchants became more numerous and more savage during the next two years, and altogether three commissions were appointed to deal with this question. As Dover had always a certain number of armed ships ready with which they were prepared to defend the passage, we may believe that some at least of these depredations were committed by the townsmen. The relaxation of discipline here displayed can easily be accounted for by the internal troubles which again disturbed the country during a considerable portion of the reign of Edward II., and the licentious spirit of the Ports may greatly be attributed to the fact that Hugh le Despenser was appointed admiral of their fleet. The associated towns of Southampton, Poole, Weymouth and Lyme had received certain privileges from Henry III., and there seems to have been a considerable jealousy existing between them and the

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Cinque Ports. As early as 1253 we find an order issued to the barons "to take no 'karkam' from or to do any injury to the men of Portsmouth and Southampton against the liberties granted them by the king". In this reign an exceedingly fierce quarrel broke out between these rivals, which required all the influence of the king to suppress. The lawlessness which rebellion engenders on land is naturally reproduced on the sea, and the piratical acts above referred to were only the natural outcome of the unsettled state of the kingdom. The king, or rather the Earl of Lancaster, who at that time was governing the kingdom, did his best to keep the peace on the narrow seas, for we find an order issued in March, 1316, to the Warden "to proceed in person to the five ports, and all others between Greenwich and Southampton, to induce them to send as many ships as they can, and to stay at *their own cost* in the king's service as long as they can, as the king wishes to provide ships for the better keeping of the English sea, and for the repulse of certain malefactors who have committed manslaughter and other enormities on the sea upon the men of this realm." A similar order was sent to the Warden of the coast from Lynn to the Thames, as well as to the Warden of the coast from Southampton to Falmouth.

The war with Scotland ceased in 1323, but the King of France, seeing the impotent state of England, had openly allied himself with that country, and towards the end of the reign the portsmen were practically compelled to keep to their harbours and content themselves with acting, as they had done before the glorious reign of Edward I., as simple coastguardsmen. In 1325 the queen crossed to France from Dover, and was shortly followed by the heir to the throne, and there commenced

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her plots against the king, which ended in her landing in the following year with foreign troops and the famous Roger Mortimer. The king was unable to make any head against her, and early in 1327 abdicated his throne, to be brutally murdered eight months later.

The following mandate to the Constable of Dover Castle and the Mayor and Bailiffs of Dover from the king in 1322 throws a little light on the customs of the time and is worthy of quoting. "Whereas lately, at the prosecution of the Abbot of Langedon and the Prior of Dover, executors of the will of William Archer, suggesting that the Constable of Dover Castle and the Mayor and Bailiffs of Dover took into the king's hands all the goods of the said William Archer after his death, retarding the execution of his will and contrary to the custom of those parts, the king ordered the Constable, mayor and bailiffs to deliver the said goods to the executors if it was so, and they returned that the aforesaid Simon and William Gile of Dover [executors?] quarrelled on Monday the eve of St. Lawrence last, so that they slew one another, both dying without awaiting judgment, for which reason the Constable, mayor and bailiffs took their lands and goods into the king's hands. The king now orders them not to intermeddle further with the said lands and goods."

One of the first acts of Edward III. was to send a mandate to the Warden to survey all ships within his "bailiewick," and cause them to be repaired, certifying the king the number surveyed and the proceedings taken. This necessary order seems to have borne but little fruit, for during the next thirteen years the English were unable to make any head against the foreign seamen who practically controlled the channel. In 1338 a mixed fleet under the command of a French admiral burnt Portsmouth and did considerable damage to Southampton,

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and with the assistance of the Scots captured Jersey. The king felt, and the nation also, that this disgrace must be wiped out, but Parliament could suggest nothing better than that the barons of the Cinque Ports should do their duty and guard the sea coast "as the Commons did the land". The Cinque Ports were no longer able to defy the concentrated naval strength of Europe; the action of the sea was destroying their harbours, which were also incapable of holding the larger vessels now coming into fashion. They, however, made a gallant effort and offered to provide a squadron of twenty-one ships of their own, with nine more from the Thames, if the exchequer would pay half their expenses "of special grace". The offer was accepted, and the fleet was rapidly equipped, eventually totalling 100 ships. A French squadron venturing to attack Hastings and Rye, the portsmen sailed forth full of spirit and determination. The Frenchmen drew off in time and so saved themselves, but the fleet sailing at once for Boulogne partly burnt the town, seized the shipping, and hanged twelve of the French sea captains who had been engaged in several harassing attacks upon the British merchants. A few days later Edward III. with the fleet, increased by seventy ships from the western ports, which were commanded by the Earl of Arundel, the Warden, the Earl of Huntingdon, commanding the Cinque Ports' division, fought and won the renowned battle of Sluys, in which the French lost 30,000 men, the fight raging for twelve hours. The French fleet was almost entirely destroyed, and no one dared to tell Philip the fatal news, till his jester called out to him: "What cowards these English are! Because," he explained, "they did not dare to leap into the sea as our brave Frenchmen did." Continual calls were made upon all the ports during the

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next few years, and their chartered services were stretched to the utmost limit, and there is some evidence to show that the continual strain upon their resources was almost beyond their strength or their will to endure.

The siege of Calais, the fall of which meant so much for Dover, again saw the Cinque Ports' fleet called into requisition, and we find that they supplied 105 ships and 2140 men, of which number Dover and its "Limbs" furnished thirty-three vessels and 521 men. Yarmouth sent forty-three vessels and 1075 men, which may help us to understand how that town was able alone to contend against the whole strength of the South-eastern Confederation. The size of the fleet which assisted the king in his operation against Calais was enormous, consisting as it did of 710 ships manned by 14,151 men, and the glory of the successful end of the operations must be fairly divided amongst the men of every county in England.

A final victory over the French off Winchelsea in 1350 in a battle named *Lespagnols sur mer*, in which the portsmen took no unimportant part, finally established the power of England upon the seas, and gave to Edward III. the proud title of "*Le roi de la Mier*".

The result of all their self-denying efforts was a vast increase of wealth to the Ports in particular and to the country at large. Calais became a great English market, and Dover had more than her share of the prosperity which followed. For ten years the town enjoyed an uninterrupted monopoly of the carrying trade with Calais, for no foreign vessel could keep the sea in opposition to the victorious English. In the year 1360, taking advantage of the slackened activity of the English marine, the French, organising a fleet, sacked and burned Winchelsea. The Cinque Ports' fleet being called out took a speedy revenge, and ravaged the Isle of Saints,

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Boulogne and Harfleur. The last seventeen years of this reign saw a great decline in the English influence abroad, and in 1375 Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne and Bordeaux alone remained in the hands of the king. With the decline of this influence must be noted a decline of trade, and from this point in our history the Cinque Ports began to lose the pre-eminence they had once held in the forefront of the nation's defence. The year that Edward III. died was marked by a furious descent of the French upon the coast, and although Dover escaped, Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Folkestone and several other towns were burned and sacked.

The feud with Yarmouth still continued during this reign. The Ports frequently petitioned the king against their powerful rival, and with evident justice, for he sided with them. Several commissions of inquiry were appointed, and a "Statute of Herrings" was passed. In 1352 an ordinance was passed confirming the dite and several useful regulations were made.

It has generally been supposed that the portsmen were free from military service on land on account of their finding a fleet to protect the interests of the nation at sea, but in 1330 an order was issued to the Warden to array the knights and other men capable of bearing arms in the Cinque Ports, and to summon them by proclamation to resist the king's rebels. Other instances might be quoted to show that they were at times called upon to provide their quota of the land forces of the Crown.

The fearful plague, commonly called the Black Death, which carried away half the population of England in 1348, certainly visited Dover, but we have no records which enable us to tell the ravages it made there. One of the results of this pestilence, and the drain upon the manhood of England caused by the continental war, was

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a great increase in the price of labour, and a statute was enacted in 1349 fixing the rate of pay upon a scale of wages similar to that current before the Black Death. That it was applied with difficulty in Dover is evidenced by the fact that the Warden received orders to punish the workmen "who refused to work at the fixed wage".

During this reign there are several instances of a wall tax being granted to the barons of Dover, as in 1346, 1372 and 1377; whether this was to enable them to extend their circumference or to keep them in repair, which is more likely, we are unable to say.

The arrangements made for the regulation of the passenger traffic by Edward II. worked so well, and the business became so profitable, that in the year 1344 the company had to appease the jealousy of their combarons by agreeing to the following regulation: "That the society shall give, in aid of the commonalty, out of every ship freighted with horses 2s., with foot passengers 12d., to be collected before leaving the shore, and deposited in a common box by the mayor and jurats". This box seems to have been kept in the church of St. Martin, part of which was used as the common hall, and the money thus collected was applied to the service due from the port to the king and his heirs, and to the better supplying of the "other necessities" of the town as they arose.

A curious order to the Warden, issued in 1338, is worth recording, to the effect that "within seven leagues of the sea in Kent only one bell shall ring in churches, so that in case of attack all may be warned by the ringing of all bells". A simple but useful expedient for summoning the fighting men together.

In 1328 we have the first mention of a name long connected with the town. John Monin was granted

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one fee in Dover for service rendered to the queen, and three years later the king granted him a messuage in the town formerly belonging to John Saunders, convicted of treason. Monin was the king's valet.

In 1332 we find the king accepts the admission by the mayor and barons of Vigerosus de Camperiano as a combaron and fellow-freeman; probably something more than his name recommended him to their favour. During this reign Roger Mortimer, Warden of the Cinque Ports, ordered each of the mayors of the Cinque Ports and the two Ancient Towns to deliver to him in the Castle copies of all their ancient customs and usages which they had enjoyed from their first enfranchisement. Lyon gives a full copy of the "Customal of the Town and Port of Dover," and we transcribe some of the more interesting portions of that ancient document. It must be remembered, however, that although the document may be taken to exactly describe the usages of the town in the middle of the fourteenth century, it is not to be relied upon as an absolutely correct guide if we desire to know the customs of any very anterior age.

The mayor was elected on 8th September, the common assembly, or "horn blowing," having been summoned to attend at St. Peter's Church by the sounding of the common horn. This horn still remains in the possession of the corporation, and a description of it will be found in chapter ix. The old mayor was bound to be present, and bring with him the "common box, the seals, and other muniments". The mayor chosen, he took an oath to be "true and lawful to the King of England and his heirs, to rightfully maintain the franchises and liberties of the town, and to do right to rich and poor". The penalty for a baron refusing to act when elected was, as has been stated, that "all the commons might draw down

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his chief messuage". The mayor's first duty after election was to nominate the jurats, who were bound to serve under the same penalty as the mayor. There were three keys of the common box, one of which the mayor kept, and the other two were given into the possession of the "two most sufficient jurats". A bailiff, "commissioned under the great seal of the king," was one of the most important officers of the town. His original title was reeve or *præpositus*, and his office dated back to Saxon times. Whenever a new bailiff was appointed he was compelled to present his commission sealed with white wax, and a letter summoning the mayor and bailiffs to attend, to hear the commission "read and expounded". This letter of attendance was sealed with green wax, and the difference in the colours of the wax was always insisted on. He was also sworn in a similar manner to the mayor, and selected a sub-bailiff. The writ of appointment of a bailiff ran as follows: "We have commissioned our beloved A. B. to be bailiff of the town and port of Dover during our pleasure, that he may answer to our exchequer for the exports and imports to be by him received: and we command you to attend the said bailiff in all things pertaining to his office; and he is to receive 12d. a day. All this you will answer." From this it will be seen that the bailiff's chief duty was to collect and account for the rent of the town, but he also sat with the mayor and jurats in hearing pleas "real and personal". The privileges of the bailiff were stated in the customal as follows: "the bailiff shall receive all manner of appeals, and all manner of plaints, as well of portsmen as strangers; he shall do execution of every plaint after its nature; and he shall take all manner of fines, issues and amercements of him that forfeiteth them to the king; but there shall be no freeman amerced

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without the consent of the mayor and jurats". The "foreigners" prison also was under the control of this officer, and it is evident he occupied a very important position in the town. The king's writs, in the days when they were addressed direct to the town authorities and not to the Warden, were made out to the "bailiffs and barons," or to the "mayor, bailiffs and barons".

The office of coroner in those days, and until the year 1464, was unpaid; and was therefore generally given to some one of the rank of a knight. In Dover the mayor held the office, and was, therefore, in this respect a king's officer. On a dead body being found within the liberties of the town the mayor informed the bailiff, who thereupon summoned a "countie," which, presided over by the mayor, held the inquest. Any one suspected of having caused the death was committed to the bailiff's prison, and tried at the next hundred court.

The right of sanctuary was recognised in St. Martin-le-Grand upon the following terms. If any one fled "to the church, claiming the franchise thereof, the mayor, as coroner, shall go to him and inquire the cause of his being there: and if he confess a felony, anon it must be entered on record, and all his chattels shall be forfeited to the king; and he shall dwell there forty days, if he will; and at the end he shall make abjuration (*i.e.*, of the town) before the mayor at the church door". At the expiration of forty days at the latest the felon thus claiming sanctuary was allowed to leave the town by the high road, if he "went out of the way" he was thrown over Sharpness Cliff, which overlooked the present Snargate Street.

The Warden acted as a Court of Appeal for any one dwelling within the liberties of the town who thought that the town court had given an unjust sentence. The

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Warden, if it appeared to him that an injustice had been done, might "send his lieutenant, or come himself, and enter into the franchise, and do right unto the party, as the usage of the port is".

In the mayor was vested the important right of wardship of orphans with their inheritance, and in the case of female children the power of forbidding marriage until they came of age. This right was exercised in conjunction with the "next friend" of the orphan.

We thus obtain a very clear view of the methods adopted for governing the town at this period of our history. The two important functionaries were the bailiff and the mayor. The jurats being chosen by the mayor and not elected by the freemen naturally strengthened his authority. This system of government lasted until the reign of Henry VIII., when certain alterations were made which will be considered in their proper place.

From the accounts of the town, which exist in the British Museum from the year 1365, we learn that the mayor and jurats rented a town hall from the Prior of St. Martin. In 1375 the following entry occurs, one of many similar, "*Solut. Priori de Dovor de redditu de domo commun. ivs*". It is not possible to speak with absolute certainty, but this custom very probably dated back to the days of Henry I. when the priory was removed to the New Work built by Archbishop Corbeuil. This rent was paid until 1540, when the Church of St. John the Baptist (*vide* page 179) was desecrated, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the town hall was a part of the old Priory of St. Martin-le-Grand, perhaps its chapter house. The first notice of this town hall, called in 1452 the "court hous," is in 1366, when Cecil Bruge is mentioned as having paid vs. for the rent of the cellar under

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the common hall. Some ten years later rent is received not only for the cellar, but also "for the shambles under the town hall".

Some additions were made to the walls towards the end of the reign of Edward III., and Snar Gate was apparently built in 1370. The "old" wall, and the "new" wall by Eastbrook are spoken of. A watch tower was in existence at Arcliffe, in those days called Erclyve, and the new wall was one built of chalk, surrounded by a ditch, as a defence to this tower, at a cost of £15. The receipts and expenditure of the corporation in 1365 amounted to something under £100 a year, and it is interesting to know that the money was chiefly raised by local taxes, called "maletots," levied on inns, fishermen, shops, mills and similar sources of income. In 1365 a tax called "Oietreicte" (*query* Octroi) was levied for the repair of the town wall. A town piper is mentioned in 1371 as receiving an annual salary of xxs. and a livery.

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CHAPTER V.

RICHARD II. TO HENRY VII., 1377-1509.

WITH the reign of Richard II., who, by the death of his father, the Black Prince, was called to the throne at the early age of ten years, commences a disastrous period for the towns embraced under the charter of the Cinque Ports. The continued ravages of the French, and the destruction of the harbours by the action of the sea, had so bad an effect upon the towns of Hastings, Winchelsea and Hythe that their final decay may be said to date from this period.

Dover having escaped the same calamities from fire and sword which overtook the other towns did not fall into such dreadful straits, but there is no doubt that the waning fishing industry, and the stoppage of the passage and coasting trade brought about a severe reversal of its prosperity. Under these circumstances we are not surprised to find that the old charge of piracy was revived, and probably on good grounds. In 1378 "Roger de Wylesham, supplying the place of the Warden," was ordered to inquire into the robbery of Flanders' ships. A few years later that country, which had been the great purchaser of English wool, fell under the influence of France, and another blow was struck at the prosperity of the town, largely engaged as we know it was in the continental traffic. We cannot be surprised that the mayor,

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Wales, and the French landed a force to support him, and seized Carmarthen, and the Cinque Ports' fleet assisted in defeating their squadron, and thus deprived the rebel of its powerful aid. Two years later, under the same command, they captured 120 ships laden with salt, iron and wine. As was usual in troublous times continual charges of piracy were made against the portsmen, and, if a continual and successful warfare against the mercantile marine of the enemies of the country can be so named, they were entirely justified. At any rate the name of Henry Pay became a terror to all the enemies of England.

Henry V., who had been Warden of the Cinque Ports during his father's lifetime, immediately on his accession to the throne passed an act of Parliament making piracy high treason. His experience gained as Warden convinced him that the Cinque Ports were no longer capable of building or sheltering the large ships now necessary for war purposes, and he therefore established a royal navy on a larger and more permanent footing. The Ports' ships were called out in 1416 for the defence of Calais, and again in 1421, but their work was mainly confined to protecting the passage across the channel, and in conveying the king or members of his family to and from the continent. Southampton became the king's chief port, and later on we find it supplying a part of the stipend of the Warden. The glorious campaigns of the king in France gave a fresh impetus to the trade of the country, and that Dover had her full share of the rising prosperity was evinced by the enthusiastic greeting which Henry received when he landed in Dover on 21st February, 1421.

The men of the Ports were called upon by the king to take part in the operations of the army, for a writ was issued to the Warden ordering him to direct the portsmen

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to "provide themselves with sufficient and convenient harness, as he intended by God's sufferance to pass on the seas into the realm of France, and then make war against Lewis, King of France, and his adherents, not only the enemies of Christ's Church, but also usurpers and unjust retainers of the king's possessions, rights and inheritances, unto his crown of England rightfully appertaining" (*Dov. Corp. Muniment Chest*).

Henry VI. was but nine months old when his father died, and the old saying, "woe to the land when the king is a child," was strikingly exemplified in his reign. His father's successes in France were made of none effect, and in 1451 the only place remaining under the English flag was the town of Calais. The English by degrees lost control of the sea, and the coasts were again pillaged and harried by French marauders.

In 1440 the king granted a charter to the mayor and bailiff confirming "the privileges which they had possessed for repairing and maintaining the walls against the sea, as was requisite for their preservation, as from the time when the town of Calais was conquered and acquired by our noble ancestor Edward, and that they of the same town lately by great charges and disbursements, which they from time to time, for the conservation of the passage from the same supported, their liberties and franchises had and held for their own use, *viz.*, that they of Dover should make their passage to the said town of Calais and not to any other place, nor they of Calais their passage to any other place than to Dover, unless prevented by great or sudden tempest, or by royal precept, except merchandise which did not belong to the passage; the said town of Dover having the special charge of the passage, and to regulate the conduct of the same and the ships thereof".

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There are one or two points in this charter which need comment. The old passage to Witsand was no longer permitted, and since the capture of Calais it is quite evident that that port, in spite of its many disadvantages, became the usual place to which cross-channel vessels sailed. It also contains the first notice we find since the end of the thirteenth century of the danger the town ran of damage from the sea. The fall of the cliff at the beginning of the fourteenth century which directed the course of the river westward, and the results of what Captain Burrows calls the "law of eastward drift" were now making themselves felt in Dover in what we conceive to be the following manner. The tide sweeping round Shakespeare's Cliff began to deposit masses of pebbles at the western end of the bay, and by degrees a considerable bank was formed, which, changing the direction of the current, caused it to beat upon the sea wall, breaching it and inundating the town with every storm. That some such action of the sea must have taken place seems to be clear, for the mouth of the river and harbour became choked with beach, and the town was partially destroyed by the force of the waves.

To obviate this danger a strong "wyke" or pier (compare *vicus*, a road) was commenced in 1422 close to Snar Gate and was carried as far as Butchery Gate by 1424. In 1438 it is spoken of as being at Boldware Tower, and we may therefore conclude that it had been carried along the whole sea front of the town. That the sea caused considerable and perpetual damage is proved by the constant payments recorded in the town accounts, but the wyke must have been a great boon to the town and shipping industry.

The loss of all the French provinces, and the consequent incursions on the English shores alienated the affec-

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tion of the Ports from the king, and they attached themselves to the party of the Duke of York. The rebellion of Jack Cade found many supporters amongst the portsmen, and several of their leading men were seriously implicated. The Earl of Warwick, the Captain of Calais, by his evident capabilities as a naval commander won their affections, and little heeding the rise and fall of parties in the state, they threw in their lot with those who seemed capable and willing to protect them from their enemies.

The barons had contravened the statute concerning the liberties of clothes and hoods, and in 1446 the king granted in Parliament letters patent pardoning "Ralph Toke the mayor, and Walter Nylsham, bailiff, and the commonalty all manner of transgressions, offences, misprisions, contempts and impeachments" committed against the act prior to 9th April.

Richard Grygge, who some twenty years later was elected mayor, was awarded £5 by the king for exposing "himself to great danger at sea, going to Calais to see if the king had arrived, and coming back to the Duke of Gloucester".

The success of the Yorkists, although the portsmen had espoused their cause, brought a temporary discomfiture on Dover. They had opened their port to the Earl of Warwick after he had deserted the new king, and on this account Edward, as soon as he had recovered his Crown, seized the liberties of the town into his own hands, and in the eleventh year of his reign (1471) "for the good and decent government and happy rule of the town and its members, and our people of the same appointed Thomas Hextall, receiver of the Lord Warden, custos of the town, with its members, with power to rule and govern the same, and have the keys and administration, even as the mayor hitherto had had". We are not

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able to say when the town recovered its liberties, but Hextall, who had been mayor of Dover in 1467-8-9, was succeeded in 1472 by Thomas Toke, and was mayor again himself in 1473. It seems likely, therefore, that the king pardoned the town almost immediately.

In 1474 the king granted a toll on foreign merchants and their wares in the latter year, to be expended in repairing the walls of the town. The usurper, Richard III., nine years later granted a licence to the mayor to collect the following tolls to enable him to repair "the walls, enclosure and harbour, there being no other protection between the sea and the town than the wall, which is so shattered by storms as to cause serious fear for the safety of the town, *viz.*:—

"1d. on every 20s. worth of merchandise of foreigners.
½d. on every horse.
½d. on every ox.
1d. on every twelve sheep.
1d. on every goer and comer.

"These tolls were to be levied under the control of Sir John Scott, Kt., and Philip Fitz-Lewes, Esq., Lieutenant of Dover Castle."

In the following year the king ordered the withdrawal of certain penalties on the trade in cloth, and granted free commercial intercourse with Flanders.

Whether the foreign immigrants, who as early as the reign of Edward III. had begun to settle in England, had at this date begun to make their home in Dover we cannot say; later on there was a considerable colony in the town.

The hold of the Cinque Ports upon the Yarmouth fisheries had been gradually lessening, as is evidenced by the reduced number of bailiffs sent to the fair. During the reign of Edward III., and from a much earlier time, they had usually sent nine, of which number Dover

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frequently supplied two. About this period the number had dwindled to about four, who as usual made their report to the Brodhull annually. It must not be supposed that difficulties and contentions had disappeared, but the decreasing influence of the Ports gradually enabled their powerful rival to deprive them of the best fruits of the trade.

The following patents will show that efforts were made to protect the waning industry. In 1487 the king appointed a commission of nineteen persons, of whom the Lieutenant of the Castle was one, to "oversee the three ships, keepers, conductors and wafters appointed for the protection of the fisheries on the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk; with power to levy contributions for the expenses of the said wafters from the said fishermen, those of the Cinque Ports which do come from the west of the Foreland excepted". In the following year a commission of twelve was appointed "to oversee John Kyryell (Crioill), master of the ship *Margaret* of Hythe, keeper, conductor and wafter, appointed for the protection of the vessels and fishermen of the Cinque Ports, who may wish to go on the sea in any part of England, and to levy contributions for the expenses of such wafter from the said fishermen of the Cinque Ports, and all other fishermen coming from west of the Foreland who may desire to fish under the said protection". We here see a system of guard-boats initiated to protect the fishermen in the peaceful pursuit of their avocation, although they were called upon to support the boats themselves. The ancient liberties of the Cinque Ports were carefully respected by their furnishing and supporting a "wafter" of their own. We have no evidence to show whether this system was of any benefit to the towns, or how long it survived its creation.

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The king called out the Cinque Ports' fleet to convey himself and his army to France and back in 1492, and called upon his subjects within their liberties "to be ready to serve him at an hour's notice".

The reign of Henry VII. marks the commencement of the history of Dover harbour, and it will be necessary to devote a considerable number of our pages to the consideration of the works carried out in connection with it. The continual ravages of the sea upon the Wyke and the difficulty of providing for the reception of the larger vessels now in use induced John Clark, Master of the Maison Dieu, to draw up a plan for the erection of a strong pier, which, carried out to sea from the western beach, would form a haven for the shipping and a protection to the town. His scheme was adopted, and aided by funds, as is generally believed, granted by the king, he built a strong bank which enclosed a considerable area of water under the lee of Arcliffe. This pier was surmounted by two round towers, and furnished with the necessary appliances for mooring vessels alongside. The advantages of possessing a harbour which protected their vessels from the fury of the south-westerly winds which prevail in Dover for about three-quarters of the year were so apparent that the seamen gave this refuge the name of Paradise. There are no records existing which enable us to fix the precise spot near which this sea wall was erected, or its extent and cost. The famous picture representing the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover in 1520 would lead us to imagine that the harbour was of considerable size, and that at least two towers were in existence upon the quay. One result of the erection of this massive bank seems to have been a cessation of the sea's encroachments upon the town, and another the growth of a beach in front of the sea wall. At least

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henceforward we hear no more of serious fears expressed lest the town should be entirely destroyed as in the days of Richard III.

This new pier seems also to have been called the Wyke, and we may infer the date of its completion to have been somewhere about 1495, for in that year "Wardens of the Wyke" were appointed for the first time by the Town. From that year also the accounts are headed, "The Town and Port of Dover".

It will not be uninteresting to learn something of the town itself during the fifteenth century. Originally there seems to have been one market, which was called the fish-market, situated near the spot where the river flowed out of the town. This and the Pennyless Bench were the central marts until 1479. It was then decided "in common hall" that a half-year's maletot should be levied to build a new cross, to be set up at Cross Place, and that the common market should be kept there thenceforth. Cross Place was the site of the town hall and shambles already referred to, and occupied much the same position as the future market did. Two years later it was agreed by "all the commonalty" that all manner of victuallers that come to market, "that is to say such as sell butter, eggs, geese, capons, hens, and chickens shall sell at all times lawful of the day. *Item*, that all victuallers that bring in corn shall begin to sell at 8 o'bell, and to sell unto 12 o'bell, unto the commons of the town. *Item*, that no stranger buy, nor indweller for any stranger buy, any manner of corn before 4 o'bell upon pain of forfeiture. *Item*, that all victuallers, that is butchers, mercers, drapers, and others that come in to market, that they sell nor keep open no longer than 12 o'bell, and that they be ready packed and trussed by 1 o'bell upon (pain) of forfeiture of 12 at every time that he or they so be

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found. *Item*, it is granted that Richard Goldsmith and Richard Joly levy the merciements of the court, and to have the one half for their labours."

Aliens and strangers were always regarded with suspicion, and in addition to the above regulation concerning the hour at which they might purchase corn the following laws were in force against them. "No alien to walk in the town after Curfew, under pain of fine and imprisonment." "No alien to carry a weapon under fear of losing it." "Ordered that no alien shall keep an hostry nor set up no craft without licence of the mayor and wardens."

The town boasted of a "great bell," which rang the warning of various hours, such as 4 A.M., 8 A.M., and the market hours. This bell at this time hung in St. Martin-le-Grand, which also held the town clock. The corporation paid for the repairs to both, as well as for the ringer. The latter in 1516 is described as an officer of the town, and received £1 6s. 8d. a year for his services. The Curfew bell seems to have been in St. Peter's Church.

The maletots are more numerous than in the previous century, and we reproduce the receipts for the year 1484-5 as an example :—

Maletot, *Carnifec. Fornicis*	. . . .	£1	3	2
,, Ships	. . . . .	2	15	9
,, Sailors	. . . . .	1	1	5
,, Fishermen and boatmen	. . .	1	1	7
,, Wine	. . . . .	2	4	0
,, Wall tax	. . . . .	5	6	0
,, Bridge tax	. . . . .	3	3	5
,, Market	. . . . .	1	2	4
,, Alien waggons and coal carts	. .	3	12	4
,, Alien use of wharves	. . .	1	1	0
,, Rent of stalls at fair	. . .	0	3	0
,, Town measurer	. . . .	0	6	8
,, Rent of town	. . . .	0	18	6

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The sum total represents the income of the corporation from maletots alone, and not the whole of their revenue.

In 1424 Henry VI. issued a writ admitting the men of Margate, Gorisende, St. John, St. Peter, St. Nicholas, All Saints Birchington, Wode in Thanet, Kingsdown and Ringwold to the liberties and franchises of the Five Ports. They still remain liberties of Dover with the exception of Margate which is now a corporate Limb. The other Corporate Limbs of Dover are Folkestone and Faversham.

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CHAPTER VI.

HENRY VIII. TO ELIZABETH, 1509-1603.

With the reign of Henry VIII. commences a new period in the history of Dover; the royal favour was to shine upon the town, and it enjoyed a considerable prosperity for a time, which did not, however, endure for long. One of the earliest references to the town in this reign is the appointment of Thomas Vaughan to be bailiff, "in the same manner as William Broke was," and it is not unworthy of notice that a king's officer was still associated with the mayor in the government of the town until so late a date. We believe that, until the charter of incorporation granted by Charles II. at the end of his reign, this custom was regularly observed. Vaughan's patent ran as follows: "to be bailiff of Dover by water and land with fees, etc., *viz.*, for every horse 4d., for every mare 2d., for every bullock 2d., for every barrel 1d., for every hundred of hops 1d., for every hundred of tallow 1d., for every broad cloth 5d., for every tun of wine 8d., for every sheep ½d., and all other profits". The position of the bailiff does not seem to have changed at all during the lapse of time, and he was still in charge of the prison and sat jointly with the mayor in all "causes and appeals". He received all the import and export duties, and assisted in preserving the peace. He had no jurisdiction over the barons unless the mayor summoned

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his assistance. About the middle of the reign considerable ill-feeling was created by the action taken by the Court of Brotherhood, which met at Romney in 1526. It would appear that there had been considerable "dissensions" in all the Cinque Port towns in electing the chief magistrate, and that there had been many unlawful assemblies, both before and after the day of election, which generally ended in disturbing the public peace, in impeding the administration of justice, and vilifying each other's character. To put an end to this state of affairs the Brotherhood passed a decree by which the right of selecting the mayor was placed in the hands of a limited number of freemen nominated by the court. To insure the loyalty of those named to usurp the undoubted right of the freemen they were bound, under a penalty, to enforce the decree of the Brotherhood to the utmost of their power. The number of freemen thus nominated by the Brotherhood was thirty-seven in each of the ports, and twenty-four in the Corporate Towns. The decree seems to have been carried out, and this system of electing the mayor was continued until 1550, when the old system was again revived. The election of the mayor continued to be marked with considerable outbreaks and constant appeals to the Privy Council of the reigning sovereign, and it was not until 1578 that the matter was placed on a footing which put an end to these frequent disputes. At a Common Assembly held on 7th September in that year it was decided that in future the mayor and jurats should meet "between the hours of eight and nine in the forenoon" on the usual day of election of the mayor, and set down in writing the names of "four honest and discreet persons of the jurats of the said town, together with the name of their old mayor, to the end the commons may elect one of those five to be mayor for the year

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following". This system, which limited the choice of the freemen to one of the jurats, remained in vogue until modern times, when the method of procedure was governed by the Municipal Reform Act. The following extract from a letter, written by Richard Barrey, Lieutenant of the Castle about this period, to Lord Burghley, substantiates the accusation made as to the riotous conduct which the freemen exhibited at the time of the annual election. "The old mayor has been elected with the greatest quietness. No election of mayor for the last twenty years has been without blowes or scratchings." Mr. Lyon, from whose book the above account is taken, was evidently able to consult the original minutes of the Common Assembly, and he refers in a footnote (page 217, vol. i.) to *Liber vocatus Q*, p. 374, as an authority for some of his statements. An entry in the Patent Rolls of Henry IV. speaks of an "exemplification" of a certain record called the "*Quaternus de Dovor sub titulo La Courte de Sapaway,*" at the request of the Mayor of Sandwich. It appears, therefore, that records of the proceedings of the various Cinque Port Courts were kept in Dover, and were collected together in a book which was called *Quaternus*, probably because it contained an account of the courts of Shepway, Brodhull, Guestling and, perhaps, the Chancery Court.

During the years 1512-14 England was at war with France, and in May, 1513, Lord Mountjoy with two others were appointed overseers of the ships of the king's forces of the Cinque Ports, and Dover probably supplied a certain number for the fleet.

Although in 1514 the fleet was lying at anchor in the roads it did not prevent the French from making a raid upon the town, for in that year we hear that "the French did lately great displeasure at Dover without

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hindrance". The king's ships were at anchor and the crews ashore.

In July, 1513, the king crossed from Dover to Calais, making an extremely rapid passage. He at once took the field against the French and won an overpowering victory at Guinegatte, which, from the rapidity of the French flight, is generally known as the "Battle of the Spurs".

Peace with France was proclaimed in 1514, and Henry gave his younger sister Mary in marriage to Louis. The princess came to Dover with the ill-fated Anne Boleyn in her train as one of her maids of honour, but was kept a whole month in the Castle by the awful tempest which raged in the channel, destroying many vessels and causing great loss of life.

A few years later, May, 1520, the king came into Dover by torchlight to meet the Emperor Charles V., the queen's nephew, who accompanied him to that wonderful gathering known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The emperor landed again in Dover in the following year.

An amusing petition was presented to Parliament by a portsman in 1523. He had been confined in Dover Castle for some offence but had managed to escape, and had established himself on the open sea as a *naval volunteer*. In his petition he says that he is "now on sea with 100 men at his owen grete cost for to withstonde and depresse ye kyng's enemys and his Rebellis and of this worthy Realme". He finds that being an escaped prisoner he cannot venture in to any of the ports to buy victuals, and therefore prays for mercy and pardon. This was granted on the payment of a small fine to the Constable of the Castle and Warden of the Ports.

Without entering into the question as to the justice or

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wisdom of Henry's action in suppressing the religious houses, it cannot be doubted that in Dover, as elsewhere, the immediate result was bad. Deprived of their means of subsistence the clergy were unable to remain at their post, and Dover having been so largely dependent upon the Priory and the Maison Dieu was practically left without any ministrations of the Church at all. That this is no exaggeration may be seen from a return made to the Crown in 1565, when six livings in the town were vacant. An effort was made by a townsman, George Elyot, a mercer, to preserve the beautiful church of St. Martin for the use of the inhabitants. A letter from him to Cromwell is still extant, in which he says there are "four or five small churches in Dover, all very evil," and he suggests that the Priory be made the parish church, and that, as the incumbents of the others die off, their incomes might be added to the Priory so as to make up a stipend sufficient to support "one learned person". We may well regret that his suggestion was not adopted, for, even to the present day, the two ancient churches have little or no endowment.

During the second war with France in this reign the Warden reported that the depredations of the enemy had done £20,000 worth of damage along the coast, and had it not been for an event of the greatest importance to Dover the town would probably have faded into insignificance. That event was the recognition by the king of the great national value of Dover harbour. About the year 1530 Clark's Embankment was partially destroyed and the harbour in danger of being rendered entirely useless. That the king knew of this is highly probable, for there is a note in one of Cromwell's "remembrances" for 1532, of a "platt (plan) of Dover Haven". The destruction of the bank had allowed the beach, or

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DOVER IN



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"prebble" as it is called, to choke the entrance to the harbour to such an extent that it was found necessary to employ "horses and drags" to clear a passage for the ships on entering and leaving the port. Matters came to a head on 26th November, 1533, when a letter from the mayor and jurats was sent to Cromwell, stating that "their harbour was utterly destroyed. Unless some remedy be provided the inhabitants as well as ship-owners as others will be forced to forsake the town. Constrained by poverty they send this petition by John Thompson, beseeching Cromwell to move the king for remedy." Thompson was Vicar of St. James's and eventually Master of the Maison Dieu, and was the author of a plan for improving and enlarging the harbour, and although he had his enemies—Hales, the attorney-general, called him "the worst priest he ever knew"—his mission was successful and the king granted £500 with which to commence the work. At this time the only construction contemplated was the renewal of Clark's bank, and operations were commenced in July, 1533. A pier some 130 rods in length was constructed, composed of strong wooden piles driven into the rock in parallel rows, bolted and banded together, the intervening space being filled with blocks of sandstone and chalk. This pier enclosed what was known as Paradise Pent. During the construction of this work further plans were considered, and in 1534 it was in contemplation to pass an act of Parliament for the "repair of Dover Pier or Rode, filled up with stone and bache of the sea". It is evident that the result of Thompson's new pier was to cause the beach to collect at the entry to Paradise Pent and overflow into that harbour. A new work was then sanctioned, which consisted of an extra bank being carried eastwards into the sea at an angle of about

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twenty degrees from the western end of Thompson's pier. In September, 1534, Thompson writes to Cromwell in the following terms: "The king's works at Dover go forward, the south jetty (the new work referred to above) is 165 feet, and 24 feet broad. The north jetty is begun. The harbour is trenched from the old pier head to the west inward 400 feet, in breadth 100 feet in the mouth, and inward 200 feet, in the belly 400 feet, and in the sound west to the hills above 500 feet." From this we learn the size of Paradise Pent and the fact that the jetty which was the north-eastern of the two piers or jetties forming the entrance to the pent was commenced in 1534. In April, 1535, John Whalley was appointed paymaster for the Harbour Works, and he writes to Cromwell in July asking that half the passage money and a tax called murage, formerly received by the corporation for the repair of the harbour and walls, forfeited for misusage, may be applied towards paying for the king's works. He was evidently extremely antagonistic to Thompson, and writes many letters criticising his work. In September of this year a new head was erected at the sea end of the old pier made of elm and filled with stones, and rocks were sunk outside the south jetty to stop the "shifting of gravel by the sea". The entry to the pent was cleared, and it was reported to Cromwell that "the harbour will hold twelve or twenty crayers and ballingers of forty or fifty tons, but in another month we hope it will be large enough for 200 ships of fifty, sixty and hundred tonne of pece". This report was sent in September, and ended with the information that "within fourteen days we intend to set forward the molde of stone to seaward". This "molde" of stone was a work commenced at some distance from the end of the south jetty, but in a continuous line with it to the east, and was made by sinking large blocks

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of chalk and stone into the water. The object was to prevent the beach collecting at the harbour mouth and stopping the passage of vessels. In the next year an addition seems to have been made to the length of the original pier, for the bailiff of Dover writing to Cromwell says: "Here is begun from the old pier, that hath been for many years past, a brase running to seaward by estimation 500 feet in length, a work very substantial and good, whereon they yet intend to work". In June Thompson reports to Cromwell that the north jetty is 380 feet, "well filled and couched with hard rock eighteen feet high, well replenished with stone in every part. The harbour is cleaned so that mariners will not fear to bring in a ship of war of seven or eight score at full sea. The south jetty is 500 feet and thirty feet broad, and a molle of 200 feet is begun near the south jetty." The harbour had needed clearing, for in November, 1535, the pebbles had swept over the works and had half-filled the channel within the pierhead. During the next few years the timber head to the south jetty, eventually called the Black Bulwark, was finished, and two groins built southwards into the sea from the south jetty. Continual trouble was experienced from the drifting of the beach, and much damage was done by the south-westerly gales. In February, 1537, Whalley, who was away for a time, received the following letter: "Here hath been since your departure I suppose the devil, the works are sore spoiled, especially the west pier". In January, 1538, Thompson in his report to Cromwell says: I have laboured to finish the works, and soon hope they will be done, notwithstanding bad weather. The south-east jetty is 140 feet into the sea and is part filled. The north-east pier is enlarged eighty feet and filled fifty feet above full sea work, the residue is almost filled. The west pier,

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named the King's Bulwark, is ruinous, and without remedy will perish altogether, for it was first filled with chalk "and other such like baggage". This west pier, which was built close to the chapel at Arcliffe, was designed, and probably executed, by a Mr. Candishe, hence the surveyor's contemptuous remarks. On 26th April Thompson reports that he has accomplished his work, and will "go on with the harbour, and repair the west pier". In September Henry VIII. visited Dover, and spent most of his time in fortifying the harbour. Arcliffe Fort and the Black Bulwark were the chief defensive works constructed. He also devised certain improvements in the harbour works himself which were carried out at a considerable cost. During the next two years the king was frequently in Dover supervising the many important additions to its defences which he had inaugurated. In spite of the enormous sums expended, said to be over £60,000, the new harbour works were a failure, as early as 1541 it was reported that a bar of "prebble" had formed in the mouth of the harbour, and that it was "destroyed". The king's attention was diverted from Dover during the rest of his reign, and as he had made no provision for the expenses of keeping the harbour in a good state of repair it fell into decay and became almost useless. Queen Mary granted permission for the mayor and jurats to collect money throughout all England for its repair, but the benefits resulting from this indulgence were practically *nil*. The beach collected in the whole bay in a manner surprisingly rapid, and the harbour was closed by it to all vessels drawing over three feet of water. In 1566 Sir Thomas Hoby wrote to Cecil to the following effect: "The compassing in of the haven here (Dover) with such a bank of pebble stones is marvellous to behold, and serves to a great purpose if they may be

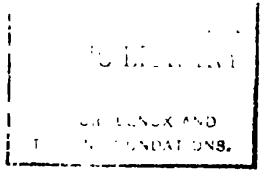
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kept out of the mouth where the ships must enter. Without speedy repair they will choke up the haven." Ten years later Sir Amias Paulet wrote to the same statesman saying: "If ever I pass again into France I will seek my passage again at some other port, the haven of Dover being in such utter ruin as the passage thereby is utterly decayed". Lord Cobham had already appealed to the Government for assistance in 1565, and stated the inability of the town to meet the necessary expense, but it was not until 1580 that any steps were taken to effect any improvement in its condition. Sir Walter Raleigh presented a memorial in that year to the queen urging the importance of preserving the haven of Dover on national grounds, and that may have had some influence in bringing her to a decision. On 6th August, prompted by whatever motives, the queen issued a licence to Thomas Allyn, the mayor, and the jurats of Dover, to "export 4000 tonnes of beer, 30,000 qrs. of wheat, and 10,000 qrs. of barley or malt, custom free, towards the repair of the haven," and on the 15th of the same month the council addressed a letter to Lord Cobham (the Warden), Sir Thomas Scott, Sir James Hales, Thomas Wotton, Edward Boys, Richard Barrey, William Partrych, Henry Palmer, Mr. Diggs and the mayor, naming them commissioners to consider plans for repair of the harbour. The opinion of the council was recorded that the necessary funds could be raised by the following means: (*a*) licences for grain; (*b*) taxes on ale houses and shipping; (*c*) benevolences from city companies and clergy, the bishops were to urge the wealthy clergy to give a tithe of their income for three years. An estimate was made of the cost of repairing the old haven, and it was reported that £7030 would be required. Work was commenced at once, and considerable progress was made during the following year. Early

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in January, 1582, an "assembly of the most skilful masters and mariners" was held in Dover, and several suggestions were adopted, which were forwarded with the express hope that some "resolution would be taken shortly". Great schemes were in the air not only for the repair of the old harbour but for the construction of an entirely new one. Many plans, some amusingly impossible, were submitted, amongst others one from Fernando Poyntz, another from a Mr. Burrough, and a third from Thomas Bedwell, who suggested amongst his improvements a clock to go by water "without setting". Poyntz's plan was approved by the commissioners on 20th May, and he was allowed to commence operations. To understand what was done it must be remembered that a bank of pebbles had accumulated, not only in the western half of the bay but right across the front of the town to the Castle cliffs, the river meandering in several directions amid its inequalities. The south jetty and Black Bulwark were almost entirely destroyed, and the town was annoyed by the accumulation of water outside its walls, which was unable to escape at low tide through the solid beach of mud and pebble. Trewe, who had been first employed in repairing the old haven, was dismissed for his unsatisfactory conduct early in 1582, and Poyntz, with whom was associated Thomas Bedwell, was given a free hand. His plan consisted of draining the plot of ground outside the town wall and building a sea embankment from the Water Gate to near Black Bulwark. The south jetty was to be repaired, and it was hoped that the river and ebb of the tide would make a sufficient race to keep the entry to the harbour clear of shingle. Poyntz's efforts were soon seen to be unsatisfactory, and in December Bedwell writes to Lord Burghley that he "feels the discredit of being associated with him, whose in-

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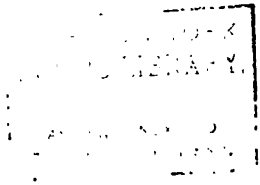
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DOVER CASTLE AND TOWN IN 1581.

From a plan in the British Museum.

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sufficiency and want of skill make all men, yea the simplest, see it. I scorn his doings." The Lieutenant of the Castle reports in January to the Warden that he does not think the new mouth of the harbour will stand; William Borrough says that the haven is now worse than it was in 1576; whilst the commissioners themselves considered the work done by him as "weak and slender". In February Poyntz writes to Secretary Walsyngham desiring to be released from his task. The one useful work he erected was a groin opposite the Black Bulwark which when joined to the cross wall became the entrance to the harbour. Sir Thomas Scott was then appointed chief superintendent, and Peter Pett overseer of the works. The plans of Thomas Diggs, which were a sensible improvement on those of Poyntz, were acted upon, and eventually carried to a successful conclusion. He proposed that a sea wall should be erected running in a westerly direction from the Water Gate, and a second from the cliffs in a southerly direction, meeting the first at right angles. In this way a considerable area would be enclosed, which would hold a vast volume of water. A system of flood-gates and sluices was also proposed, by which the channel from Paradise Pent to the open sea could be kept clear of shingle. Under Sir John Scott the work was pressed on with vigour, and the progress made seems almost impossible until we learn that the bank raised by the action of the sea was itself made use of as a wall, being scarped and strengthened by faggots fixed down with piles. The cross wall was also built of mud, covered with faggots, pinned down with piles, and from a base width of seventy feet tapered to forty feet at the top. On 17th July the long and cross walls were both finished, and it was decided that the cross wall should be continued till it

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reached the haven mouth. Two new groins were also to be erected on the east side of the south jetty. The Mayor, Thomas Andrews, a strong supporter of Poyntz, was charged by Sir John with hindering and opposing the works, and was suspended from his office, whilst certain workmen were punished for deserting their employment. In 1584, in January, the commissioners surveyed and reported on the "decay and ruins on the sea side at Dover," and a new groin was ordered to be made under the superintendence of Henry Guildeforde. The method employed at Scarborough for constructing jetties was recommended by Diggs, and in June several workmen from that place were set to work at Dover. During this year several defects were discovered in the work—the sluice began to leak and had to be reconstructed, and in October the Black Bulwark was damaged by the sea and the wall of the little pent (Paradise) began to sink, whilst the cross wall exhibited signs of weakness in places. In April, 1585, a new commission was appointed, and the Black Bulwark was reconstructed, stone being used in the work. A new sluice was also built, and the wall of Paradise Pent extended. The harbour was now considered finished, but in spite of the enormous sums spent it was still unfit to cope with the fury of the waves and the flow of beach, for in 1593 it was reported that the "state of Dover harbour is so desperate that it will go to utter ruin". This, however, refers to the damage done by a furious storm in October. Admiral Howard writes to Lord Burghley on this subject and says he "has seen what a safeguard the haven there has been to English, Scotch, French and Flemish ships in the late storm. Henry VIII. would have given £100,000 to have seen it so effective in his time. The last storm made a breach in the

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new piled works which may be mended in a week of fair weather. The commissioners intend making a head of timber next summer in the place where this pile stands." Sir William Wynter expressed himself "very dissatisfied" with the harbour in 1588, although a few months later he says that the "work was very great, and little remains to be done". The funds to meet the expenses were raised to a great extent by an act cited as 23 Elizabeth, cap. 6, by which it was enacted that "for every ship, vessel, or crayer, whereof any of the queen's subjects shall be owners or part owners, of the burden of twenty tons and upwards, laden or discharging within the realm and passing to or from any foreign country during eight years, there shall be paid for such voyage by the master or owner of such ships, vessels, or crayers 3d. for every ton burden, except with ships laden with sea coal or grindstones, towards the repair of Doven Haven; and for every chaldron of sea coal and for every grindstone 1½d.". This act, which expired in 1589, was again renewed, and produced an income for the commissioners of nearly £1000 a year. The grain licences were also productive of large sums of money, so that the various works were carried on without delay from a lack of money. So long as money was available various works were carried on, and Diggs showed considerable ingenuity in constructing several defences against the encroachments of the sea.

The statutes which were in force for several hundred years prohibiting travellers leaving the kingdom with a larger amount of money or plate than that mentioned in their passport caused a considerable loss to a very famous personage in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Erasmus, returning to the continent after his visit to England, was deprived of £200 in French gold,

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a circumstance he bitterly resented (Froude, p. 53). Later in the century strict regulations were made with reference to Papists, and "searchers" were appointed in Dover to see that none entered or left the kingdom. The Lieutenant reports to the Constable and Warden on one occasion that he had stopped two passengers, bearers of letters from many young papists, with books, crucifixes, and a picture of "Marye Mawdlyn holowed, and certain other tryffles". The searchers were active, and many arrests were made in Dover.

The difficult question of the Yarmouth Fair and the rivalry between the Cinque Ports and that town, perennially provocative of feuds and disturbances, engaged the attention of Elizabeth. A most sensible proposal was made to the effect that Yarmouth should be incorporated as a member of the Cinque Ports, but it was never carried into effect. One fruitful source of dispute was, however, settled by the award of the commissioners appointed. It was ordered that the Ports' bailiffs were to be named *first* in the annual proclamation every alternate year only, instead of every year. The Ports resented this award, but it undoubtedly tended to establish a better feeling in the end, for until 1612 the annual fair was conducted in peace and concord. From that date the Yarmouth authorities did everything in their power to make "the place too hot for its visitors. In 1657 they refused to stay to be insulted, and were fined accordingly when they presented themselves at the Brotherhood. In 1663 the Cinque Ports' bailiffs made their last visit." The triumph of Yarmouth was more apparent than real, for its corporation, seeking their own profit only, drove away all foreign fishermen, and a considerable amount of their trade came back to the Cinque Ports.

The attempted invasion of England by the Spanish

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Armada in 1588 saw the final service performed by the Cinque Ports in the naval defence of their country. They were ordered to send five ships and one pinnace, but actually provided two ships and five pinnaces. Dover equipped the *Elizabeth*, a ship of 120 tons burden, with seventy men, and victualled for fifty days. Sandwich the *Reuben*, another ship of 110 tons. Faversham, Hythe, Romney, Rye and Hastings each sent a pinnace. These vessels, with eighteen from the east-coast towns, formed the auxiliary squadron to the channel squadron, and were posted at Dover to watch the Duke of Parma. The admiral was Lord Henry Seymour, Sir H. Palmer and Sir W. Wynter acting as vice and rear-admirals. This small squadron joined Lord Howard on 27th July, and took part in the action off Gravelines. Five fire ships had been prepared in Dover Harbour, and were actually sent for by Lord Seymour, but they were not used, as Drake gave some of his own ships for that purpose to save time (*Drake*, by J. Corbett, ii., 146 note). Carefully drawn orders had been issued by the authorities in 1587 for the "selected band" to take up various positions in the town to withstand the expected invasion, and it is also stated that the different posts were selected as military stations to close all avenues of escape to the male inhabitants who should attempt to leave the town on an alarm being given.

The first mention that we have discovered of the almshouses occurs in the sixteenth century. They originally stood near the Butchery Gate, but were moved in 1532 to a house in St. George's Ward belonging to Oliver Lythgo, a former mayor. These new premises were rebuilt during the century, and the mayor and jurats lent £10 to enable the wardens to complete the work.

The loss of Calais in January, 1553, was a severe blow

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to the traders of Dover, and caused an influx of alien visitors who brought in their train so much sickness that it was reported that the plague had broken out in the town. The mayor denied the report, and accounted for the daily deaths by the fact that they occurred solely amongst those who came "out of the ships, and such poor people as came out of Calais, of the new sickness". It does not appear that they remained in any large numbers in the town, and we have seen that the regulations respecting aliens were not drawn up in a spirit which was likely to encourage them to do so. A certain number, however, made their home there, and about 1570 the first foreign church was established. It was a Dutch, or Flemish, Protestant establishment, and was served in 1576 by a minister named Peter Canwera. The numbers attending it were very small,[1] and according to their own showing too poor to pay the stipend of their clergyman. It ceased to exist about 1590, and the building they had used in the Market Place, called the Flemish Church, was pulled down about 1617 by John Golder.

An insight is given as to the methods adopted for preserving order in the town by the regulations issued in 1561 to the aldermen and constables selected for each ward. They were to "maintain the queen's peace and good order night and day. No victualling or tippling of strangers was to be permitted on Sundays or other holy days, except such as was necessary, at ye time of sermon or other common prayer." Unlawful games were to be suppressed in every house. If any stranger died, the fact was to be "presented" to the mayor. To ensure the night watch being properly performed one constable from each ward was to go at 8 P.M. to the market cross and

[1] In May, 1571, there were sixty-four men, seventy-six women and 137 children foreign residents in Dover.

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take the names of the constables present, and report the absentees to the alderman.

Owing to the new harbour works the town underwent certain alterations during the sixteenth century. The land reclaimed from the sea was gradually built upon. A new bridge was built, the expense being defrayed by benevolences, near the Bench, and was called Bronger's Bridge. In 1587 a broad ditch was dug in front of the town from under the Castle Cliff to the Bench as a means of defence against invasion, and turnpikes instead of gates were set up on the harbour works. The Pennyless Bench was enlarged and rebuilt, and the prison there was used for foreigners. The mayor's, or freemen's, prison was a tower near Snar Gate, called "Standfast," whilst the House of Correction, described as a little cove (a low building) in the fish-market, and commonly called "The Hole," was used for obvious purposes. The town also possessed a pillory, a cage, stocks, and a cucking-stool. In 1520 the mayor and jurats expended viijs. in purchasing two morters "for skolds to bear about the markett when they skolde". They were not useless, for the next year it is recorded: "Fynes of skolds ffurst receyved of Antony Johnson for a fyne for his wyffe because she was juged to bere the morter aboute the m̃kett place on Saturday the xix day of October, and for the redemption thereof agreed to paie in hand ijs.". The pillory stood over a shop in the Market Place, and the cage upon the town wall. The following fines will give an idea of the method of administering justice at this period.

"Fyne from ye butcher for flinging a paunch in the brook, vjd." "Of Matthew Warden for a fyne for killing of a salmon which was 'scade' in ye brook, ijs. vid." "Richard Dyrkin for a fyne for suffering playing at bowles in his garden, iijs. ivd." "Of William Water,

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Minister of Saint James, for a bludwype (a blow which drew blood) between him and Knapp, iijs. ivd." "Paid to the porters for the cuckyng of the woman Jackson's wyffe, and the tallow, ijs. viijd." "Ordered henceforward that the masters and owners of crayers using the passage shall not employ any unmarried men in the said crayers under penalty of being fined iijs. ivd."

The various trades seem to have been incorporated into guilds, for the accounts show such entries as received of the bricklayers, "tyllers," shoemakers, mercers, hackneymen, "tayllors," and drapers, certain sums "for their corporation and composition this year". The mayor and jurats exercised a certain regulating power over at least some of these guilds, for we find them fixing the charges which the hackneymen could make for their services. The fare from Dover to Canterbury was fixed at xvid., and from Dover to Sandwich viijd. for one horse, and xxd. to Canterbury for two horses. These hackneymen were sworn in as king's messengers and received a slightly smaller fee. All were compelled to serve the king's business with their horses in turn, under a penalty of vs. fine and ten days' imprisonment.

In 1539 the town clock was set up at St. Mary's at a cost of £6 16s. 8d., the old church of St. Martin-le-Grand being about that time dismantled. It would appear that the old clock was removed.

The income of the town shows an upward tendency during this century; in 1511 it amounted to £103 2s. 11d., the payments being £72 3s. 8d. In 1580 the receipts were £253 11s. and the payments £247 5s. 9d. The mayor in the latter year received as wages £10, and £2 for "torch money," but in 1586 the wages were increased to £20, with £2 for wine and £2 for torch money added. The town clerk received £4 a year. The receipts of the

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year 1539 were swelled by the sum of £29 7s., the sum realised by the sale of the "ornaments, copes, vestments, pyxe and chalys" of St. Martin-le-Grand. In 1551 "Robert the Tynker" was paid xvid. for mending the "towne horne". In 1565 Dover was reported, by special commissioners thereto appointed, to have 358 houses, twenty ships and crayers, and 120 vessels of about four tons, with 130 persons employed in merchandise or shipping.

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CHAPTER VII.

JAMES I. TO WILLIAM AND MARY, 1603-1702.

THE burning question in Dover during the seventeenth century was undoubtedly the harbour. The violence of the frequent storms, and the constant choking of the entry by beach, rendered a considerable expenditure of money continually necessary. In 1599 a greater part of the Old Pent wall was overthrown, and the town defrayed the cost of 200 labourers and seventy carts employed in repairing the damage. The difficulty of keeping the channel clear of beach was always present, and a harbour cess was established about 1580 to meet the necessary expenditure. Personal service was demanded of the inhabitants for the same purpose, and in 1676 the "ancient custom" was revived by which the mayor used to summon every householder by beat of drum to resort to the harbour with a shovel to clear the obstruction caused by the accumulation of shingle. Every defaulter was fined a shilling for each offence. In 1612 the wall of the Great Pent was breached during a storm, and in 1656 a great hole was made in "the bay of the Town near the brick kiln," and every householder was commanded to send a man with a spade to assist in making a mud wall to prevent the incursion of the sea at that spot. In November, 1662, a certain Hugh Merrell sends a letter to Sir William Batten superscribed, "In haste, post haste,

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or all's lost; port, town, and people," in which he describes "a fearful inundation," and requests that a commissioner of Trinity House should be "immediately sent down to see the danger of desolation". These are but a few instances selected from many, but they show the difficulty the authorities experienced in preserving, not only the harbour, but the town itself. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the mayor and jurats had started the custom of leasing the harbour droits from the Commissioners for a sum fixed every year. The amount paid varied considerably during the century, ranging from £80 to as much as £300. On the accession of James I. an effort was made by the Lord Warden to obtain money from the Treasury for the purposes of the harbour, and the Lord Treasurer's reply is worth quoting: "Certain payments will be made for Dover Haven if there be money, which comes in slowly on account of the plague, and the expenses of the royal family are great". The king however granted the usual supplies for the repairs of the harbour, but the Earl of Northampton advised James to demand a surrender of all claims the mayor and jurats might have upon "the duties, droits, and waste lands belonging to the pier". The surrender was made with the exception of "the rivage and tonnage granted by Queen Mary". The Lord Warden with several others, called his assistants, were incorporated by the king, and he gave to them all his rights and titles to the duties and waste lands belonging to the harbour. The work done by this new corporation seems to have consisted in deepening the great sluice and repairing the mole. The act for granting "passing tolls" was not renewed when it expired about 1620, and, with the exception of £300 in 1640, no public aid was granted to Dover harbour until the reign

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of Charles II. Paradise Pent, which by that time had become a marsh, was then parted off, and a basin made for the back water. For the next thirty years the harbour was practically allowed to decay, and then Sir Henry Shear's report upon the state of the haven induced Parliament to re-enact the statute which levied a duty of threepence per ton on all vessels passing Dover. The tolls were to cease when the sum of £30,100 had been raised. This act was eventually prolonged to 1718. A sum of £20,876 was collected by this means and expended in cleansing, repairing and improving the harbour. It does not appear that any result commensurate with the expenditure was obtained.

Dover was one of the first places in Kent to declare against Charles I., and the castle was captured by several of the townsmen and handed over to the Parliamentary authorities as early as 1642 (p. 289). The demand made upon them for ship money in all probability accentuated their dislike to the king's government, although, as their service of ships had fallen into oblivion, no part of the kingdom could be called upon with more justice to provide funds for a national fleet. In 1634 Dover and its members were ordered to find £390, and in 1639 £330, and from the documents among the State Papers it would appear that both sums were duly paid. Another reason was the anti-popish feeling, always strong in Dover, which had received a considerable impetus in 1621 by the arrival of numerous Protestant refugees from France, driven from their own country as a result of the Protestant rebellion under the Duc de Rohan which broke out that year. The advent of these "sufferers for their religion" stirred the sympathies of the townspeople and may have helped in forming their unfavourable opinion of Charles I., who was supposed to have Catholic tenden-

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cies. These refugees, some 650 in number, including two ministers, formed the second foreign church in Dover, and were permitted to use St. Mary's as a place of worship. The French ministers both preached each Sunday, one before and the other after the morning service, and on Thursdays also the church was placed at their disposal. In October, 1622, the rebellion in France came to an end, and most of the fugitives (with seventy-eight exceptions) seem to have returned to their own country. The Rev. John Reading, Curate of St. Mary's, had exhibited the greatest sympathy with these refugees, and it is somewhat astonishing to find him the largest sufferer in the town during the Revolution. He was one of the chaplains-in-ordinary to Charles I., and appears to have preached with some vehemence against the violent course pursued by Parliament. His house was raided in April, 1642, by a zealous parliamentarian militia officer, Colonel Sandys, and his library of books plundered. After the fall of the Castle he was committed to prison by command of Sir Edward Boys, and was kept in confinement for nearly two years. He was appointed to the living of Cheriton in 1644, but on the discovery of the plot for the surprise of the Castle in the royal interest he was again imprisoned, first at Dover, and eventually at Leeds. At the Restoration he recovered his benefice, and presented the Bible to Charles II. on his landing at Dover. The town was rendered defensible by command of the Constable in 1642, so as to beat off any royalist attack, and with few exceptions the inhabitants threw themselves with fervour into the arms of Parliament. In a published list of "suspected persons" in Kent, under twenty are given in "Dover," one of whom, John Loome, was elected mayor in 1660. If the town had felt the rule of Charles I. heavy, it is evident that they suffered more under the Commonwealth.

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In 1649 the mayor and jurats petitioned the Council of State to assist them in repairing the harbour. They claimed to have paid to the Parliament "£35,000 in plate and loans for Newcastle, Ireland, and the public faith, etc. The town was absolutely helpless, 200 houses standing empty." The most they seem to have received from the Council was a letter of thanks for their efforts in supplying men as sailors for the fleet. If the Revolution and Commonwealth had been hailed with delight, the Restoration was equally applauded, "there is such a general desire of his coming the like was never known," says a writer from Dover in 1660. The town clerk testifies to the joy he experienced by making the following entries in the Minutes of the Common Assembly in a beautifully clear hand, as legible as his ordinary handwriting is illegible:—

"MEMORANDUM that the eleventh day of May 1660 the Kings most Excellent Majestie CHARLES the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland, Defender of the faith etc: according to the proclamation above written (that issued by Parliament on May 8 proclaiming Charles II.) was Proclaimed in this Towne and port of Dover King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland by the Mayor and Jurats of the said Towne and port accompanied with the right honourable Heneage Earl of Winchelsea, Viscount Maidstone, Governor of the Castle and Town of Dover, and divers other knights gentlemen and others of his Lordships Troops with their naked swords in their hands held up, the trained band of souldiers in Dover under the command of Captain Richard Jacob, and one compaine of souldiers from Dover Castle under the command of the said Earl, by the beate of the drumms and sounding of trumpets, all persons present being bare and uncovered, and there

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was great acclamations of joy and rejoycing for his Ma^tie^, and crying out God save the King ".

" MEMORANDUM that the five and twentieth day of May 1660 the Kings most Excellent Ma^tie^ CHARLES the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faith etc : arrived in Dovor road from Holland with twentie sayl of his majestie's great shipps and ffrigatts the right hono^ble^ Edward Lord Mountagu being Genrall, and landed the same day at the Towne and port being attended by his Ex^cie^ the Lord Genrall Monk who first mett his Ma^tie^ upon the bridg sett into the sea for his Ma^ties^ more safe and convenient landing, and at his Ma^ties^ comnig (*sic*) from the bridg the Maior of this Towne (Thomas Broome Esq.) made a speech to his Ma^tie^ upon his knees, and Mr. John Reading Minister of the Gospel presented his Ma^tie^ with the holie bible as a gift from this Towne, and Mr. Reading thereupon made a speech likewise to his Ma^tie^, and his gracious Ma^tie^ having his hand upon his breast told Mr. Maior nothing should be more dear to him than the bible. His Ex^cie^ the Lord Genrall was accompanied with the Earl of Winchelsea and a great number of the Nobility and Gentry of England and his life-guard all most richly attired." Charles was not forgetful of Dover during his reign, but the " holie bible " was not so well remembered.

From the beginning of the century several cases of plague had occurred in Dover, and as early as 1615 the " Pest House used for the poor, outside Cowgate," is mentioned as needing repairs. The corporation, on the plague breaking out with violence in London, took such precautions as they deemed necessary to prevent it effecting a lodgment in Dover. In 1605, when they were already afraid of the pestilence, it had been decreed

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that any dogs found straying in the town should be killed, and a "poor man" was appointed to carry out this order, with a reward of twopence for every dog he killed. In 1665 it was again decreed that no "hogges, dogges or cattes" should be permitted to go about the town, as they were likely to carry infection with them. In 1625 the following entry occurs in the town accounts: "Paid unto Thomas Haslewood for knocking of dogges att head in the tyme of the plague in this towne viijs.". Continuous entries of this description are to be found, and it would appear that a "muzzling order" was not unknown to our ancestors, for in 1634 it was ordained that: "Butchers and others having mastiff dogges" must keep them muzzled during the day and tied up at night after candle lighting. Penalty for first offence xs., for the second xxs., and for a third offence the dog was to be killed. In 1664 Thomas Reignald was paid is. for "beating the drum for keeping in dogges during the pestilence". It is evident, therefore, that Dovorians of that day were wise in their own generation, and recognised the danger of infection being carried about by animals. A sensible order was made in 1665 to the effect that "during infection of the plague" no householder was to receive any person from London into his house. All the precautions taken were, however, useless, and the following extracts from letters written by John Carlisle, Clerk of the Passage, will show how severely the town suffered. On 1st August, 1666, he says, "the sickness is much broken out at Dover," and on the 5th he reports, "ten died of the plague," and a few days later, "the plague very much increasing". During the summer the death rate rose rapidly, in one week in September twenty-one died and in November forty-six during seven days. On 11th November he writes:

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"twenty-four died of the plague last week, and many fresh houses have lately broken out". A week later he reports, "the plague is abating, only eighteen last week," and on 23rd December, "only two men died last week". What the actual number of deaths was we are unable to say, but several hundreds must have fallen victims to that fearful scourge.[1] The corporation purchased a piece of land in Hougham, just over the present coastguard station, in which to inter the dead, and at the beginning of the present century it was still called "The Graves".

As soon as the town had recovered from the infection the Duke of York, who had been appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1660, was sworn in at the Bredenstone. It will not be uninteresting to know the composition of the procession which passed through the town from the Castle. John Carlisle describes it in a letter written on 7th September, 1668, as follows: "First there came the guard of Dover Castle with a horse and pistol each; then Dr. Jenkins, in scarlet, and the Judge of the Admiralty, in black; the Admiralty Sergeant with the silver oar and anchor on it, and the Boder of the Castle with his mace, all bareheaded. Colonel John Strode, the Lieutenant of the Castle, came next, and was followed by the Duke of York accompanied by the Duke of Lenox. After them followed Mr. Jermyn and several persons of quality, succeeded by the five Mayors of the Ports and the two Mayors of the Ancient Towns of Rye and Winchelsea, all in black gowns on horseback, only the Mayor of Dover had a white rose. Then seven Bailiffs, who are as Mayors in their station, in black gowns. Then forty-two Jurats who were returned to wait upon the Lord Warden, each attended by a

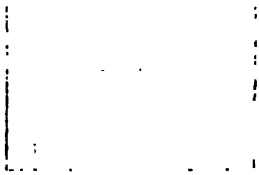
[1] It is generally believed that 900 died during the year, but it is not possible to write with certainty.

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sergeant in livery, then Sir Thomas Armstrong's troop of horse to bring up the rear." The letter continues: "After the ceremony in the tent all returned to the Castle where great provision was made, ten fat bullocks and other things equivalent, and a very great concourse of people all fed free". From another letter we learn that the duke "went to St. James's, where a sermon was preached before him, and then went to the usual place, upon a very high steep hill a mile south of Dover Pier". The writer pokes a little mild fun at the preparations made in Canterbury to welcome the duke on his passage through that city: "The city of Canterbury intends to show all its glory, the citizen soldiers are putting themselves in yellow coats and black trimmings, and the Officers in buff. The shopkeepers are also preparing to show the riches of that poor city" (*S. P.*, Dom. Ser.)

During the year 1646 the "Walloons or French and other strangers (in Dover) professing the true Protestant religion," petitioned the House of Lords that "they would be pleased to authorise the erection of a Walloon or French congregation in the said town and port of Dover, to the glory of God, and as a means of the conversion of many Papists". Parliament, after considering the question, accorded its permission "for the foreign Protestants and their successors to have the liberty and public exercise of the Protestant religion under a faithful ministry of the Word and Sacrament as other foreign churches in the kingdom do and may freely enjoy". In this manner was formed the third foreign church in Dover, and although its members were not very numerous some, or one of them, seem to have been sufficiently well off to build a church of their own in the pier district, called "Le New Buildings". The only members of this congregation

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THE OLD CUSTOM HOUSE, OR "NEW BUILDINGS," BUILT CIRC. 1600 AND PULLED DOWN IN 1806.

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whose names appear prominently in connection with the town were Daux and Waade. The church died out about 1661, although the building was again used in 1685 by the members of the fourth, and final, foreign congregation, which was established in Dover in that year. A large number of French Protestants sought refuge in England owing to the persecution which arose in their own country as a result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James II. granted permission to "such of the French nation as inhabit in and about Dover to make use of the French church built there in the time of our Royal Father, King Charles the first of blessed memory, provided they make use of the service of the Church of England according to the rubrick". Robert Jacob, who was mayor in 1685, was a member of this church, and several of those whose names appear in the records of the Walloon congregation were instrumental in forming this new establishment. The church was sufficiently well off to provide the stipends of two ministers, who, in 1686, were Solomon Delebecque and Antoine Couzot. The congregation were somewhat disturbed by internal differences caused by a turbulent member named Isaac de la Croix, who after his departure from Dover settled in Cork, and caused much dissension among the Huguenot body in that city. This church existed until June, 1731, when, on the 27th, the last service was held. The following entry in its account book gives the reason: "*l'exercise de laditte église ayant cessé, manque de personnes a contribuer a l'entretient*". One member of this church, Isaac Minet, was the founder of a family honoured and beloved in the town of his adoption.

Differing from the Huguenots, self-respecting and respected, were a body of men who, filled with a fervour for the religious opinions which the Commonwealth had

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made unpopular, were a source of trouble and annoyance to the authorities. John Carlisle must again be quoted, for he expresses the feelings of the majority in forcible language. "We wish the king to know the distracted state of the town and port. Should any visitors be sent to Dover they would find us, as Cicero did the tomb of Archimedes, overgrown with thorns and nettles. We are overrun with schisms and factions, apparelled in several shapes, and publicly owned under several names and sections. The bell-wethers of faction are Nathaniel Berri, Nicols and Stiliard. The places of their seditious and unlawful meetings are many, but H.M.'s victualling yard is now used." That the statements made by Carlisle, who was a jurat, were not without foundation, and that the meetings were really considered seditions, we have other testimony to produce. In 1670 Richard Matson, Edward Dell, Samuel Taverner, Nathaniel Barry, Simon Yorke and Anthony Street were summoned to attend the king's council, and were reprimanded for using conventicles and attending unlawful meetings, and the corporation were ordered to close all such places forthwith. Taverner, who had been a captain of horse under Cromwell and Governor of Deal Castle, was a Baptist, and head of that body in Dover. In the last decade of the century, when the persecution of "schisms and factions" had ceased, he obtained a licence for a part of his house to be used as a place of public worship, and leased a parcel of ground near St. Martin's as a burial ground. He was the pastor of the church, for he had been "ordained" in 1681. After suffering imprisonment, probably in 1668, he retired to London for a while, and only returned when he could exercise his office in safety. The Baptists seem to have used Taverner's house as a chapel until 1745, when a new building was erected on the same site. In 1820

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a new chapel was built in Firepost Lane, leading from Snargate Street. This body claim the honour of having opened the first Sunday School in Dover in 1803, and it was started by a lineal descendant of Samuel Taverner. In addition to the Baptists there were congregations of Independents, Presbyterians, Brownists, Quakers and Particular Baptists in Dover. They all suffered considerable persecutions about this time, many of their members being confined in the Castle. Whilst we may deplore the lack of Christian charity which prompted these bitter actions, we must remember that in their day of power they had equally ill-treated the clergy and members of the Episcopalian Church. The Friends' Meeting House was in St. James's Street, but about 1790 they built a chapel in Queen Street. Zion Chapel, in Last Lane, originally a malt house, was purchased by Philip Papillon in 1703, and used as a Presbyterian place of worship. Four years later the members numbered over eighty. The Particular Baptists had no settled place of worship in Dover until 1822, where they hired a room until Pent Side Chapel was ready for them. A considerable number of them were settled at Eythorne, and made several converts in Dover about 1643. It is said that their connection with Eythorne goes back as early as 1543. Of the Brownists, the followers of Robert Browne, a connection of Lord Burghley's, and sometimes called the "Father of Congregationalism," we have found no recorded permanent settlement in Dover, and they were probably absorbed in the other bodies, or driven by persecution out of the town.

Trouble in connection with the election of the mayor again arose during this century, about 1644 the method adopted in 1578 was discontinued and the chief magistrate was nominated and elected in open assembly of all the free-

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men. Four years after the Restoration the custom of 1578 was again revived, and afforded the discontented section of the townspeople a reasonable grievance. It is, perhaps, partly to this that the existence of the "factions" spoken of by Carlisle may be ascribed. He certainly was in favour of the restricted method of election. The ill-feeling culminated in a serious riot on 8th September, 1670, which the Lieutenant of the Castle was compelled to quell with the Castle guard. John Matson was elected mayor by the conservative party, but Richard Barly was nominated and elected by the discontented section of the freemen. The matter was referred to the king in council, and by his decision the arrangement made in 1578 was to be continued, and a new election held forthwith with Barly's name placed amongst the four jurats recommended for election. This order was received on the 26th of September, and on the next day the new election was held, Richard Barly being chosen mayor. Both sides could therefore claim a victory, and both were probably dissatisfied.

A charter of incorporation was granted by the king to the town shortly afterwards, he reserving to himself the right of vetoing the election of any individual as mayor, thereby reserving to himself a prerogative exercised on several occasions by his predecessors. James II. is also reputed to have granted a similar charter to the town during his reign, but Hasted is, we think, wrong when he says that both were annulled by proclamation on 17th October, 1788, for that proclamation referred to charters granted since 1679. As early as 1665 the civic rulers speak of themselves as the corporation. In 1685 the corporation paid W. Chapman £141 19s. for his expenses in procuring the charter from Charles II., and the same year paid a sum of thirty shillings to Mr. Crayford "for

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his journey to Dover in order to the translating" the official document, and passed a resolution that "the thanks of the house be given him for his readiness to serve this corporation". The charter translated was that granted by Charles to the Cinque Ports. A new Town Hall was built in 1605, and it was agreed "that the market cross pretended to be builded, upon better consideration shall be erected meet for a court hall, and to be beautified with fair windows fit for such a house, and to have a garret there made, and the same to be made in length fifty feet and of convenient breadth". This hall was in 1613 connected with St. Martin-le-Grand by a gallery, a "chimney and a house of office to be made therein". The new court house was first used for a common assembly on 22nd May, 1607. Robert Garrett, the mayor, was in 1622 sent for to London, and imprisoned for eight days in the Marshalsea Prison by the council, for not detaining a "Rocheller," who had robbed an Italian in Dover. The town paid all his expenses. In 1634 a set of chimes was placed in St. Mary's at the expense of the town at a cost of £27, and there are several notices of that church which show that it had fully succeeded to St. Peter's as the corporation church. A new "great bell," the "common bell of this town" was placed there, and the ringer was appointed and paid out of the public revenue. The fee of the clerk, which he received on the death of a jurat, was reduced from "vjs. viijd." to "is.". "A greene velvett cushion as it was made and furnished at London for Mr. Maior his seat in the church as by the bill appeareth" cost £3 7s. 8d., and was presumably for a considerable time the chief ornament in the chancel of "H. M. Church," as it is sometimes called in the records. Charges of "gorging and guzzling" were brought against the grand jury by

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the town auditors for several years in succession; they objected to the charges for "dyett at the sessions" as being too much, and were of opinion "that it will be meet hereafter to allow the grand jury at each session xijd. apeece rather than to provide for their dejeuners as hath been formerly used". It is scarcely necessary to say that their objections produced no results. The receipts prove that the money expended on the harbour was not altogether wasted, and that the prosperity of the town was materially increased during the greater part of the century. The following table will show the receipts and payments during the several years mentioned:—

	Receipts.	Payments.
1601	£439 10 0	£296 10 0
1630	353 8 0	398 17 2
1632	575 17 3	579 2 4
1633	666 18 4	653 16 9
1634	728 9 6	771 14 9
1636	1586 17 2	1375 0 8
1642	848 5 0	783 7 11
1646	436 17 4	429 13 0
1672	257 0 0	261 0 0

The revolution and the plague would appear to have dealt hardly with the town, and the wretched state of the harbour towards the end of the century must account for the great diminution of the receipts. It must be remembered that Dover was not, and is not, a manufacturing town, and depended upon the port almost entirely for its income.

A new prison was opened for the "better class of forreyners" in 1613, the gate house near Biggin Gate being used for that purpose. A new cucking stool was also erected near the "new sluice".

Some of the decrees of the new corporation are worth quoting, especially the following, which shows

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that an unsuccessful would-be reformer must expect little mercy.

"Ordered that a fine of £200 bee sett upon Mr. Richard Barley one of the Jurates of the Towne for indeavouring by bloweing the Horne to alter the established government of the Corporacion contrary to the decree of the said Corporacion" (1678).

"It is ordered that the sum of £5 apeece be paid by W. Hare and N. Donne as a fine for refusing to take the oath of Common Councillor, and to be levied by distress and sale of their goods."

"It is ordered that such of the Councellors that have appeared at this assemblie without black gownes, and all others of the said Common Councell that have not, doe provide themselves gownes within two months."

"Mr. Clement Buck one of the Jurates is fined 15 shillings for departing this Assembly without leave."

"Thomas Teddeman Esq., and Edward Roberts Esq., Jurates are fined 5 shillings each for their defauelt of appearance at this assembly, being duely warned."

"It is ordered that the severall fines of twenty shillings apeece bee received and levyed uppon W. Peene and T. Dawkes for not providing themselves gownes."

"It is ordered that if any Freeman shall att any time hereafter colour foreigners' goodes in buyeing victuall, herrings, or other merchandize, contrarie to the ancient usage of the Towne, everie such freeman shall incurre the penalty of £5."

"Noe person of the Towne shall directly or indirectly keep open above one shoppe at a time." Fine 6s. 8d. *per diem.*

"Ordered that the Maior, Jurates and Councell doe sett the watch by turnes everie night and to be Captaine of the watch according to their senioritie as their turnes

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happen, and that 20 inhabitants be summoned to watch everie night, and that the Chamberlins build a Watch house against the Court Hall stairs." Fines for default, captain of the watch, iijs. ivd.; watchmen, xijd. for each default.

"All carts and carriages passing the streetes in the Town, shall drive in the middle of the streetes with one wheel in the gutter, and not to drive their carts within three foote of the dwelling houses." Fine of vid. for every offence.

"Ordered, that on every Thursday in every weeke the Inhabitants doe sweep and make cleane the streets before theire doors, and cast the dirt into an heape on paine of vid. forfeiture for every offence. And that Mr. Maior and the two Chamberlains do yearly agree with a scavenger or scavengers for to carry the same away."

"Ordered, that from the feast of All Saints to Candlemas, the Inhabitants do, in every night from two days after the full, to two days after the new of the moone, bring out respectively theire candle light from half an houre past five till nine of the clock at night." Penalty vid. for each offence.

The decrees of the corporation were published by the town "Cryer," who received a payment not only for "beating the drum" at watch setting, but also for reciting the decrees after attracting the attention of the inhabitants with his drum. We have not discovered when the "Piper" was succeeded by a drummer as town crier.

In 1610 "Biseman's Stack" or the "Glosk," "built by the corporation as a public place for the mayor to hear and order complaints," was ordered to be repaired. We have only found this single reference, and are unable to explain the origin of the name.

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A new custom house was built in 1623 at a cost of £126, and the old prison was sold and pulled down in 1689.

A coffee house is mentioned towards the end of the century, and was situated near the Bench.

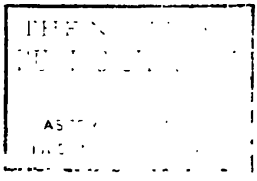
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CHAPTER VIII.

ANNE TO GEORGE III., 1702-1800.

It will be necessary to consider what steps were taken during the eighteenth century to render the harbour of Dover more effective. In the last chapter we stated that the act for passing tolls was extended to 1718, and in that year a further statute was passed (4 George I., cap. 13) extending the previous acts for five years more. In 1723 the Corporation of Rye, whose harbour was rapidly becoming useless, petitioned for a part of the revenue raised under those acts to be assigned to them to enable them to make a secure haven for their ships. The passing tolls were again granted for five years, but two thirds of the sums received were granted to Rye, and one third only to Dover, and this arrangement was continued until 1758. In that year half of the revenue was paid to Dover and the other half to Rye for twenty-eight years. In 1797, however, the grant to Rye was finally stopped, it having become evident that its harbour would never be of any practical value. Dover continued to receive half the dues until 1807. Nothing beyond necessary repairs seems to have been done to improve Dover harbour until 1737, when the "lower cross wall was faced, on both sides, with Portland stone, new gates built at the entrance of the basin, with additional sluices (of stone) on each side, and a swing bridge erected over it for foot pas-

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From a plan in the British Museum.

EXPLA

1. Pilot House.
2. Fisherman's Row.
3. Pump.
4. Council House Street.
5. Round Tower Street.
6. Hearts Row.
7. Jetty.
8. Pier Heads.
9. Cross Wall.
10. Victualling Office, Navy.
11. Snargate Street over the wall.
12. Rope Walk.
13. Lime Kilns.
14. Bowling Green.
15. Black Ditch.
16. St. Martin's Churchyard.

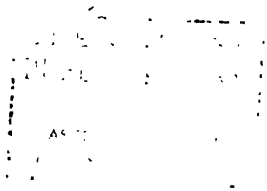
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ATION.

17. Queen Street.
18. The Bench.
19. The Hole.
20. Buggins Bridge.
21. Mills.
22. King Street.
23. Market Place.
24. Cannon Street.
25. St. Mary's Church.
26. Victualling Office.
27. Maison Dieu.
28. Ladywell.
29. Batteries.
30. Long Gun.
31. King's Lodgings.
32. Well.

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sengers". A few years later a pair of gates were inserted in the upper cross wall to enable vessels to enter the pent, which had become of little use since Paradise Pent had been shut off. Vessels of any size were still unable to enter the pent, for the "sill and apron for the gates" were fixed "four and a half feet above the level of the sill in the cross wall". The pier heads were also rebuilt about this time. Nothing further was attempted until 1753, when the jetty, 126 feet in length, was built on the eastern side of the bay, under the Castle Cliff. The reason for the construction of this pier being that "the breadth of ground between the pent and the sea was so narrow, that there was great danger of the sea making a thorough breach into it; but that, upon a large fall happening at the Castle Point, a quantity of beach was lodged, and the partition between the pent and the sea was greatly strengthened, so long as the fall lasted; but, upon the washing away of this fall, the barrier was again greatly weakened, which, being observed, an artificial pier or jetty was erected at the same place; and ever since the beach has been so far retained as to lay in a considerable breadth and strength between the pent and the sea, and so as to put that matter out of all danger". The continual choking of the harbour mouth led to such public complaint that the Commissioners appointed the eminent engineer, Smeaton, to inspect and report on the state and possible improvement of the haven, and in 1769 he presented the result of his investigation. In his report he stated that the cause of all the trouble with the harbour arose from "the constant motion of the beach or shingle, which by the action of the sea, is driven coastwise, from west to east". He also described the system in vogue for clearing a passage for ships "when by hard gales of wind, and seas from the south-western quarter,

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a quantity of beach is brought round the western head, and lodges itself between the heads". The basin and pent were then filled up with sea and fresh water, which was held up until low tide when, the sluices being rapidly opened, the volume of water rushing out cut through the bar of beach, and, in *spring* tides, effected a good passage for vessels desirous of entering or leaving the harbour. The real difficulty occurred, however, during "short or low neap tides," when "such a quantity of beach will be lodged between the pier-heads, and to so great an height, that a vessel drawing but four feet of water" could hardly get into or out of the port. "The remedy of the evil," he imagined, was "first, The prevention of the beach from getting into the harbour's mouth; and secondly, a more effectual way of clearing it out, when it happens to get in." He proposed to effect this by prolonging the south jetty in a south south-easterly direction ninety feet, "and then returning the outside so as to fall in with the salient point of the present pier". He imagined that the effect of this addition to the jetty would tend to drive the shingle seaward into deep water. The construction of two new sluices which would discharge the back water nearer to the bar was also recommended. From lack of funds, and perhaps from a doubt as to the probability of success, the Commissioners did not accept Smeaton's proposals, and nothing at all was done. In 1782 another engineer, Mr. Nickalls, was consulted, and he chiefly recommended the following alterations. 1. The area of the pent to be increased to thirteen and a half acres, which would considerably increase the volume of water to be used in cutting through the bar. 2. To deepen the pent by four and a half feet, which would give from seventeen to eighteen feet of water at neap tides. 3. To extend the head 200 feet farther into the

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sea. The estimate for carrying out these and his other suggestions amounted to £60,000, and although it was not possible for the Commissioners to entertain so large an expenditure they retained Mr. Nickalls' services for several years. Under his supervision the entry into the port was enlarged, the apron at the pent gates was lowered, two new sluices were built in the lower cross wall, and some hundred feet of the wharves were cased with stone. He was eventually dismissed from his post, and his plans laid aside. Sir Henry Oxenden, one of the Commissioners, then undertook the direction of affairs, and in 1791 rebuilt sixty-five feet of the north head in a "substantial and masterly manner". The harbour, as a result of all these works, was placed in a fairly satisfactory state, and in 1792 a Dutch East Indiaman of 800 tons, and drawing nearly twenty feet of water, was able to enter it without damage. Nothing further of importance was done until the nineteenth century.

There are no great events to chronicle of Dover during this century, a great change had come over England by which the ideal in politics had given way to the convenient, and the material interests of the country gentlemen and the trader had taken the place of the enthusiasm of the Cavaliers and Roundheads of the preceding seventy years. The history of Dover, like that of other towns, is confined to an account of its progress as a borough, and of merely local events. The town was brought into contact with the magnificent continental victories of Anne's reign by the landing of the Duke of Marlborough on 1st August, 1714, to whom the townspeople gave a royal reception. The days, however, when Dover or the Cinque Ports took their parts as a separate unit in any event of national importance were long passed, and they can only claim a general share in the many glorious deeds

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which have made our country so great during the two past centuries.

The town underwent considerable changes during the period under consideration, many of the ancient buildings were destroyed and replaced by more modern ones. The fortifications erected during the great French war on the sea front and western heights helped in an especial manner to change its aspect.

In 1722 "the tower called Hole or Freemen's Prison" was ordered to be converted into a town jail, pointing out that the ancient system of keeping a separate place of punishment for the freemen and aliens had died out. From the incorporation of the town the old system of government gradually faded away, and before 1800 Dover no longer included two classes of inhabitants within its growing boundaries; the foreigner, kept under and jealously regarded, and the freeman, striving to retain the whole trade and profit of the place to himself. This jail was used until 1746, when it was condemned as unfit and a house was purchased at a cost of £260, which was fitted up as a prison. The following report from the committee of the corporation appointed to carry out this shows the rate of wages obtaining in Dover at that period. "The committee on account of the very high wages of the workmen of the Town, and their demands for allowances, had thought proper to offer 2s. 6d. a day to carpenters and bricklayers, and 1s. 6d. a day to labourers without any allowances, and that the carpenters and labourers were willing to work at that price, but the bricklayers refuse to do so." The Assembly ordered that the bricklayers, whether freemen or not, "who will work cheapest be employed". We here see another nail driven into the coffin of the freeman's privileges. The front of the jail had to be rebuilt in 1760, and remained,

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thereafter, unaltered until modern days. It stood near the old Market Place, and was described by Lyon, in 1812, in the following terms: the prison and bridewell "are old and indifferent buildings, and by no means adapted for reforming refractory persons, or keeping notorious aggressors of the law in safety. The felons' apartments have been kept neater than many others in exempt jurisdictions. The debtors' room is over the felons', and more comfortable." The old Bench House remained standing until 1762, when both it and Biggin Gate were pulled down. In 1728 the corporation enlarged the Market Place by purchasing and destroying several houses. The cost of this improvement was £150, and the recent expenditure upon the Biggin Street enlargement only shows that the corporation are as much alive now to the necessities of the town as their predecessors were some 160 years ago. The stocks came to an inglorious end in 1735, for they were pulled down by one James Hammond, who built upon the ground they had occupied. A committee of inquiry was instituted, but nothing seems to have resulted. We have not been able to discover when the cucking-stool, "morters for scolds," cage and pillory were finally destroyed. The pillars under the Town Hall were replaced by new ones in 1759, and the following notice was issued: "This Corporation having been at the expense of New Pillars for the support of the Town Hall, to prevent the defacing of the same by nailing up Notices upon the same.

"ORDERED, that no Persons be allowed to nail up any notices upon the same, but that the Town Sergeant do keep proper Boards for pasting such Notices upon to be hung up against the said Pillars, and do paste up all such notices upon payment of Twopence for each notice. And that if any person do nail up any notice upon the

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said Pillars, the Town Sergeant do immediately take the same down."

Did the boys of Dover lose such an opportunity of annoying what Dickens called a "porochial" officer? The Government on two occasions, in 1756 and 1759, applied for the Bench and the Hole to be turned into a guard-room, and an "Infirmary for H.M. Forces". The town had a three-gun battery at the Bench, and they could not part with it, even "as a proof of affection to His Majesty and zeal for His Majesty's service," but they repaired the battery and made it serviceable in 1764. In 1779, England being at war with America, France and Spain, various preparations were made along the coast to defeat any attempt at invasion. Earthen batteries were rapidly thrown up in Dover; "one of these called North's Battery, was erected in the centre of the Bay, opposite the present gardens at the end of Waterloo Crescent. Another, called Amherst's Battery, was a little east of the north pier, and a third, Townshend's Battery, to the westward of the harbour, about where the South-Eastern Railway Station now stands." These batteries were during the summer converted into permanent ones. They were constructed chiefly by military labour drawn from militia regiments, and the rate of pay was one shilling and three pence per hour for artificers, and ninepence per hour for labourers. If the workmen found their own tools the pay was doubled. These works were undertaken at the urgent request of the corporation. The batteries were furnished with twenty-eight guns, and protected by a guard from the Castle. It was suggested that the volunteers from Dover should be drilled to work the guns and man the defences of the batteries. In the same year the first earthworks were thrown up on the Western Heights, and in 1781

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they were armed with seventy-two cannon, made up as follows: sixteen twenty-four pounders, twenty eighteen pounders, twenty-four six pounders and twelve sixty-eight pound cannonades. Townshend's Battery, which had been destroyed by the sea, was rebuilt in 1793, and in 1798 the new road up the Castle Hill was handed over to the Dover and Deal Roads Trustees, the old main road becoming the property of the Board of Ordnance. At the beginning of the century the town, during the war with France and Spain, had taken all precautions possible to obtain due warning in case of an attack. In 1703 the Assembly passed the following resolution: "that for the safeguard of the Town in this time of war a strict watch be forthwith kept, and the method, ordering, and managing of the same is referred to the Mayor and Jurats".

The following enactments of the Assembly show what steps were taken to make this "strict watch" effectual.

It is ordered that six men do watch every night.

No person shall be hereafter admitted a freeman of the Corporation upon any pretence of right whatsoever, that at the time of demanding his freedom is not resident in the Town so as to be liable to the Scot and Lot, Watch and Ward of this Town.

Decreed, that for the better security of this Town, a good watch be kept in the night-time by the inhabitants, and for default of any inhabitant, being duly warned, he shall forfeit one shilling to be levied by distress.

In 1745 the "Assembly taking into consideration the danger this Town is exposed to from the invasion with which this Nation is threatened from France," appointed a committee of the mayor and ten jurats to consult with the military officers, and empowered them to take such steps as might be deemed necessary to secure its safety.

A new clock was erected in 1736 in St. Mary the Virgin at the cost of the then mayor, Peter Monins. This clock remained in use until 1867, when it was

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replaced by the corporation by a new one. The ancient control of the town over the clock is kept up in the present day by the funds of the borough being charged with the cost of winding and repairs.

In 1707 the hour for the horn-blowing for the election of mayor was changed from between 8 A.M. and 9 A.M. to a much earlier hour, it being decreed that "the notice to the freemen upon election of Mayor by blowing a horn, be performed on the day of election by five of the clock in the morning". It will be of interest if a copy of an entry in the Corporation Records descriptive of an election of a mayor be given; they almost invariably run as follows:—

"MEMORAND. That on the *eight* day of *September* Anno Dmi. 1678, and in the thirtieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second of England, etc., after a Horne blowing early in the morning of the same day, betweene the hours of eight and nine of the Clocke in the forenoon, appeared in the Guildhall of the said Town, William Stokes Esq. Maior, Mr. George West, Mr. Richard Barley, Mr. William Richards, Mr. John Bullacke, Mr. John Valey, Mr. Cha. Valey, Mr. Rich. Cullen, and Mr. Aaron Wellard, Jurates, and before Tenn of the Clocke the same forenoon the said Maior and Jurates did sett down in writeing, under their hands the names of fower honest and discreete persons of the Jurates of the said Towne, together with the then Maior, to bee in election *viz.:* William Stokes Esq. Maior, Mr. George West, Mr. Wm. Richards, Mr. Rich. Cullen, and Mr. Aaron Wellard, to the end the Comons may elect one of the said five persons to be Maior for the said ensueing yeare.

"And afterwards about one of the Clocke in the afternoon of the same day the said Maior accompanied from

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his house with the Jurates and Coïers of the said Towne to the Church of Saint Maries the Virgin in Dover, and after proclamacon made in the said Church that all freemen should drawe neere, and in quiett and peaceable manner proceede to the election of a Maior for the yeare ensueing, and all forreigners to departe the assemblie upon paine of looseing their upper garments, and such other punnishment as shalbee inflicted on them. And the Freemen being soe assembled, and Mr. Maior delivered the paper to the Towne Clerke wherein were written the names of the Maior and Jurates then in election, which being by him read, the said Captaine William Stokes, nowe Maior, was by the greatest number of voices of the Freemen of the said Towne, elected Maior of the said Towne, for the yeare ensueing, and was sworne, for the due execucon of the said office, and also tooke the oathes of allegiance and supremacie, and according to the Acte for Regulacon of Corporacons, and subscribed the Declaracon therein menconed, and the White Staffe, Seales and Keys delivered unto him, and (seven) of the Jurates *viz.:* Mr. John Golder, Mr. George West, Mr. William Richards, Mr. John Bullacke, Mr. Charles Valey, Mr. Rich. Cullen, and Mr. Aaron Wellard, Jurates were sworne according to custome, and after a speech made by the said Maior, attended by the officers, and accompanied by the Jurates, Comon Councell and Freemen to the said Maior's house were there kindlie entertained."

The "Common Assemblies" of the "Barony of Dover," or, as it was afterwards called, the "Corporation," have generally supposed to have gone under the name of "Hornblowings," but we believe that the hornblowing was the title given to the meeting of freemen generally when summoned for the purpose of electing the mayor, or any special object. The meeting of the

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whole body of freemen, summoned by the blowing of a horn, was a "Hornblowing," the meeting of the mayor and jurats to transact the business of the town a common assembly, and from 1702 a "Common Council". The officers of the town appointed annually varied slightly in different centuries but always included the town clerk, town sergeant, two chamberlains or triers, town porters, the master of the "Feriage" boats, the corn measurer, and the measurer of salt and coal. After the possession of the almshouses came into their hand wardens for that institution were also appointed. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the "Pounder" was also an official of the town. This person farmed the "half passage money" appropriated to the mayor and jurats, as well as the "House money," the "Head money," the "Lyme money," and the sums received for measurage, beer, hops, hogs, corn and boats, packs and the sluice. These items show the trade of the town in those days, especially when we remember that the pounder paid something ranging from £180 to £450 to the town from these receipts. Among the minor offices were the town crier, the master of the Bridewell, the common brokers and the bell-ringer. There was also a mayor's sergeant.

The steward or recorder of the town from 1718 to 1764 was Philip Yorke, the son of Simon Yorke, a Dover attorney. Having served as attorney general and solicitor general, he was in 1737 made Lord Chancellor, being created Viscount Royston and Earl of Hardwicke. He still remained Steward of Dover until his death in 1764. He was succeeded in that office by his son Charles, an eminent lawyer, who during the "Wilkes and Liberty" struggle in 1769-70 was persuaded by the king to accept the Chancellorship. Unable to bear the reproaches of his friends for having sacrificed his conscience to secure

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his advancement, Yorke committed suicide. From 1737 to the death of Lord Hardwicke, Thomas Knowler acted as his deputy; whilst William Hey and Charles Robinson were the deputies of his son.

In 1713 an effort was made by one of the jurats, Robert Daines, to revive the old feud about the election of the mayor. He claimed to have been elected by the freemen, although his name was not one of the four set down by the mayor and jurats as worthy of election. His claim was carried into the High Court, and was heard by the chief justice, Parker, the verdict being against Daines. It should be noted that, according to an act of Parliament passed in 1711, the outgoing mayor was not eligible for re-election until he had been out of office for a full twelve months. In 1748 election by ballot was introduced into the Assembly for the first time, and henceforward all officers were selected by that system.

At the beginning of the century it was still endeavoured to prevent any but freemen opening shops in the town, and the fine of 6s. 8d. was inflicted for every day such unlawful place of business was kept open. In 1744, however, several persons refused to pay this fine, and the corporation, after obtaining the advice of the steward, seem to have dropped all further attempts at enforcing them.

Reference has been made to the Warden usurping the right of nominating at least one of the members of Parliament for the town, and the following example is given as one out of several. In 1700 it is recorded that at a common assembly "a letter directed to the Maior and Jurates and Cōōalty from Sir Basill Dixwell (Deputy Warden) was publikely read, wherein hee recommends Sir Charles Hedges Barr^{t} one of His Maj^{ties} principall Secretaries of State to bee a very fitt person to serve this

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Corporation in this and the next ensueing parliament, ordered, that a letter of thanks bee written to him, in the name of the Maior, Jurates, and Comon Councill for his past services, and for recomending to us soe worthy and fitt a person as Sir Charles Hedges is to succeed him".

In 1725 an effort was made to provide accommodation for the poor in Dover by "erecting and setting up a parish house according to the late Act of Parliament," and it would appear that the town store house in the Pier District was appropriated to that purpose. In 1751 the corporation decided to sell that building, then "used by St. Mary's Parish for a poorhouse," to enable them to pay some of their debts. The sale was not effected, and the building still continued in use as a poorhouse.

In 1763 an act was obtained for constructing a turnpike road from Dover to Folkestone, and it originally ran over the cliff from Arcliffe Fort. Some twenty years later the present main road through Maxton was levelled, and joined the older road some three miles from Dover. At the end of the century, in 1796, the road was commenced which leads from Dover to Sandwich through Deal, and a few years later a second was commenced passing through Waldershare and Eastry to Sandwich.

In 1778 an act was obtained for paving, cleaning, lighting and watching the town. The expenses were met by a tax of sixpence on every house, a shilling duty on every chaldron of coal, and a toll payable at the turnpike on the London Road. In 1810, the funds obtained from these sources being inadequate, the taxes were doubled. In 1700 a fire engine was presented to the town by the then mayor, and was used for the first time in extinguishing a conflagration in the August of the same year. It survived until after 1751, and a man was paid ten shillings

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a year for "oyling" the pipes belonging to it. The corporation, in 1715, made a rule by which all persons admitted as freemen should in future provide a "buckett to be put in the court hall for the corporation's use in case of fire," and later on we find a fixed charge of three shillings and sixpence made, in addition to the fee paid for taking up the freedom of the town.

In 1772 great alarm was created by several falls of the cliff in the rear of Snargate Street and under the Castle; an appeal was made to the Government to render such falls impossible in the future, but no steps were taken to secure the safety of the town.

In 1784 a monthly Court of Requests was sanctioned for the town and the neighbouring parishes of Buckland, River, Ewell, Lydden, Coldred, East and West Langdon, Ringwould, St. Margaret's, Whitfield, Guston, Hougham, Capel le Ferne and Alkham, for the recovery of small debts between two and forty shillings. This court used to sit on the first Tuesday in each month.

One other event of importance must be chronicled, and that was the first visit of the Rev. Charles Wesley about 1760, when he addressed a riotous and disorderly meeting from a chair placed outside the Victualling Office. His visit bore fruit, however, for in the following year an old cooperage was rented in Queen Street, and the first Wesleyan congregation was formed under the pastorate of Peter Jaco. A move was made to Limekiln Street soon afterwards, where two houses had been converted into a chapel. In 1790 a new chapel was built, which was conveyed to four trustees, of whom John Wesley was one. The chapel at Buckland was built in 1808.

The town accounts for the eighteenth century do not afford so much information as those of the preceding, as most of the entries are made in the following form: "paid

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W . . . B . . . as per bill" such and such a sum, the work performed being in most cases unstated. Certain customs of those days, however, appear, as for instance the frequent bonfires which were paid for by the corporation, not only on 5th November, but also on "tryumph days". These were days on which great victories were celebrated, and in 1727 £20 15s. was expended "on the severall tryumph days". Similar entries occur during the greater part of the century. The declarations of war or peace were equally treated as festivals, for in 1744 we find "paid 4 drummers on declaring of war 10s.," and for the "musick on the same occasion" a similar sum was paid. The "Towne drum" and the "Peer drum" are both mentioned, and in 1709 the drummer received thirteen shillings for his performance on the king's birthday. The cage and the stocks are both mentioned during the first twenty years as being "on the peer," but they seem to have fallen into disuse about 1720. In 1759 the Warden, the Duke of Dorset; the two members for the town, Lord George Sackville and Mr. Hugh Jones, and Lord Hardwicke, each subscribed £100 towards the expenses of the Guildhall, which was erected about that time. "Constables" are mentioned for the first time in 1761, and a special oath was prepared for them to take on entering office. They were the forerunners of the more famous "Peelers". The following extracts from the accounts are, perhaps, worth quoting:—

1706. "Paid ye Cryer for wiping of a boy . . . . 4d."
„ "Paid ye Cryer for wiping two women . . . 8d."
1707. "For wiping a man . . . . . 8d."

Numerous entries occur until 1736, on one occasion ten men being whipped at a charge of three shillings and four pence.

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1721. Nov. 5. "Paid ye Clerke for setting the Psalme 1s."
1730. "Two princes of Mount Libanon and expenses £5 12 6"
1744. "Paid for painting a staff for the Marshall of the Peer Company of Militia . . . . . 6s."
1746. "For clay to stick ye candles in at ye Towne Hall 2s. 6d."
1747. "To ye Recorder to hold session . . . 0 0 0"
1784. "To the Cryer forbiding throwing at Cocks on Shrove tuesday . . . . . 1s."

The sources of income of the corporation remained much the same during the century, and we append the receipts for the year 1700 and 1784 in order that a comparison may be made.

1700.	£	s.	d.
Haring Boat money	5	12	6
Corne money . .	1	16	3
Coale money (3d. per chaldron) . .	2	10	6
Housage money .	8	12	8
Freedoms . .	18	0	0
Faire money . .	9	0	0
Composition money	11	1	4
Opening Shopps .	1	0	0
Wine money . .	4	1	1
Old debts (last year's balance) . .	10	0	0
Fines . . .	1	3	11
Shipping horses .	14	7	0
Rent and Encroachments . .	1	19	0
	£89	4	3

1784.	£	s.	d.
Water Bailiff's fees	42	8	4½
Coal money .	14	19	2
Freedoms . .	113	0	0
Fair money .	40	11	6
Market dues .	21	8	0
Opening shops .	2	0	0
Composition money	3	8	0
Old debts (last year's balance) . .	316	0	6½
Fines . . .	2	10	0
Droit on horses and dogs .	24	9	5
Rents, etc. . .	17	11	11
	£598	6	11

The expenditure in 1700 was £57 10s. 7d., and in 1784 £283 15s. 9d. The receipts at various periods between these dates show a steady progressive rise. The "composition money" in 1700 was made up as follows: Cordwainers £1, Deputy of Ringwould 8s., Folkestone £2 6s. 8d., St. John's, Thanet, £1 6s. 8d., St. Peter's 16s. 8d., Birchington 16s. 8d., Faversham £2, and Folkestone (a back payment) £2 6s. 8d.

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An extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (i. 33) for 1731, will be of interest:—

"11 January, 1731, died Thomas Monins, a wine cooper of Dover. Upon the death of Sir Edward Monins of Waldershare, Bart., the title descended to him, but he refused to take it. His eldest son will 'tis said."

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CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE III. TO VICTORIA, 1800-1899.

In 1802 the south-pier head, on which the very existence of the harbour depended, was in a dangerous condition, and it was surveyed by Messrs. Walker and Rennie. They recommended that the pier should be carried out 200 feet beyond the north pier, but nothing was done, probably from lack of funds. Five years later the old passing tolls were again imposed, and the financial condition of the Commission was thereby much improved. An act continuing these tolls indefinitely was passed in the reign of George IV. The first work done with the money thus raised was to repair, under the supervision of Mr. Moon, the harbour master, 195 feet of the old work on the inside of the north-pier head. Having by his successful work ingratiated himself with the Commissioners, Moon submitted a scheme for the improvement of the harbour in 1811. Having been appointed engineer he commenced operations, and was successful in carrying out several useful works. His first object was to discharge the backwater directly upon the shingle bank whenever it formed in the harbour mouth, and so cut a clear channel for the passage of vessels. To do this he constructed a sluice in the south pier which terminated in two outlets, either of which could be used as required. This sluice was connected with a reservoir, which was fed from a new

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basin constructed near it. This basin was formed by walling off the northernmost part of the harbour and by encroaching on the shore at the same place. Several houses were pulled down to furnish the space required in what was then called King's Head Street. The excavation made was eventually turned into a dry dock, which occupied the ground now covered by the London, Chatham and Dover Railway Shunting Yard. The new basin, the wall of which was 426 feet long, pierced by two gates, was to have been supplied by water brought from the pent by an underground channel. The sluices were constructed of cast-iron culverts. The south-pier head was reconstructed with large oaken piles placed at intervals to offer a less solid resistance to the waves. The new sluice was tried for the first time on 27th January, 1822, and effectually "cut off the bar of beach close to the pier head". The cost of these new works was about £120,000, the passing tolls bringing in about £10,000 a year. "The foundations of the old wall, built by Clark and Thompson in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.," are said to have been discovered by Moon in constructing his new basin. In 1828 repairs were made to the inner part of the south pier, chiefly by adding to its height. Moon died in 1832, and was succeeded by Mr. Fordham as engineer and Mr. Irons, a pilot, as harbour master. In 1836 a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the plans of Lieutenant Worthington, R.N., for improving the harbour, which consisted mainly in providing a large tidal dock at the back of the north pier. This scheme was rejected, but it was resolved to enlarge the existing harbour. To do this Amherst Battery and the York Hotel were demolished, and an additional area of nearly five acres was thus added to the harbour. In 1838 the Wellington

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Bridge was built at a cost of £7000. The construction of Northampton Quay was the last work of importance carried out by the Commissioners, whose powers dated back to the reign of James I. In 1861 the present Harbour Board was formed, and the passing tolls finally abolished. Several small improvements were carried out during the next eight years by the board, including the erection of a lighthouse on the south pier. In 1870, under advice from Mr. Hawkshaw, the inner basin was deepened by five feet and a half at a cost of £47,000, and was opened by the Earl of Granville, the Lord Warden, after whom it was named in 1874. The quay accommodation was improved and the Clock Tower built during the next few years. In 1888 the pent, now called Wellington Dock, was improved so as to admit vessels of 800 tons burden.

In 1886 an effort was made to restore the ancient union of the town and port. A bill was submitted to the House of Lords, but was afterwards withdrawn by the corporation.

In the meanwhile in 1847 the Admiralty Pier was commenced and was finished in 1871. Its total length is 2100 feet, the cost of the construction working out at something over £320 per lineal foot.

In 1891 Parliament sanctioned a tax of one shilling per head on channel passengers to provide the funds for building the new commercial harbour. The chief feature of this scheme consisted in building an eastern pier, nearly 2000 feet in length, at an estimated cost of over £600,000. At the present time some 1600 feet has been constructed, and the results have not been altogether satisfactory, the action of the sea in south-westerly gales rendering it impossible for the channel steamers to land their passengers,

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The dream of Dovorians of fifty years ago is now to be realised, and the whole of the bay is to be converted into a great Admiralty harbour. A sum of £3,500,000 has been granted by Parliament to carry out the following works: (1) the extension of the Admiralty Pier, in a south-easterly direction, 2000 feet; (2) the construction of an eastern pier, 3320 feet, in a south-westerly direction, starting from a point 200 yards east of the Convict Prison; (3) the erection of a breakwater running east and west, 4300 feet in length, three quarters of a mile from the shore, and (4) the building of a sea wall from the Castle Jetty to the point from which the eastern pier branches out to the sea. The total area of water which will thus be enclosed is 685 acres, and will be large enough to afford protection for twenty of the largest battle-ships, and any number of cruisers and smaller vessels that may need its shelter.

The passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1835 did away with the old system of electing the mayor, and John Shipdem, the last mayor elected under the old system, only held office from 8th September, 1835, to the end of the year. He had the honour, during that short period, of breakfasting with the Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent, at the Ship Hotel, on their visit to the town in October of that year. The first mayor elected under the act was Edward Pett Thompson, a man of culture, whose memory is kept green in Dover by the museum which he was instrumental in forming.

This Act also put an end to the Courts held in the town for centuries. These Courts were (1) the General Gaol Delivery, held three times a year; (2) the Court of Civil Record, held once in three weeks; and (3) Petty Sessions, held weekly. The mayor and two jurats formed the Court at the General Gaol Delivery, the Recorder or

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THE COMMON SEAL OF THE BARONS OF DOVER.
(*Reverse.*)

[On the back is engraved, FACT Anno Domini (MC)CC Quinto.]

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Steward sitting as *amicus curiæ* only. When the occasion demanded it the mayor passed sentence of death, and, so far as we can learn, the last time he did so was in 1823, when a smuggler named Spence was executed for firing at a coastguardsman, although he did not injure him. The execution took place in Black Horse Lane.

As this is the last reference which will be made to the history of the corporation it will be necessary to describe the various seals which have at different periods been attached to their official documents. The corporation possess a most precious relic of ancient days in "The Common Seal of the Barons of Dover," and it is the one thing which has come down from the days of Edward I. *unchanged* and unspoilt. It is made of latten, is circular in form, and about three and a quarter inches in diameter. On the obverse is a single masted vessel with the sail furled; at the masthead is an embattled "castle," above which a pennon of three tails is flying. In the bows there is a forecastle, embattled, with two trumpeters blowing; the bowsprit runs through this forecastle. In the stern another embattled castle appears from which flies a standard charged with the arms of Dover as one of the Cinque Port towns. The legend on the obverse is "SIGILLVM + COMMVNE + BARONVM + DE + DOVORIA," the common seal of the barons of Dover. On the reverse is St. Martin of Tours on horseback, passing through the gate of Amiens, and dividing his cloak with his sword to cover a person naked to the waist and leaning on a crutch. The whole within an orle of lions *passant gardant*, respecting one another.

A certain would-be antiquary once described this device of St. Martin as being the representation of "a highwayman robbing a man on foot"!

St. Martin was born about 317, but as the records of

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his life come to us through the "dreamy twilight of the new mediæval world" they read "like a series of parables". He was the son of a soldier, and a soldier himself, and during his service in the Roman army was stationed at Amiens. Riding out of the town gate one bitter winter's day he was met by an ill-clad beggar to whom he gave half of his warm cloak, which he divided with his sword. That night the Saviour, surrounded by angels, appeared to him in a dream, clothed with the half cloak which he had bestowed upon the beggar. "Know ye who has thus arrayed Me?" said Christ to His angels; "My servant Martin, though yet unbaptised, hath done this." Martin had become a Christian catechumen at the age of ten, and this dream prompted him to enter into full communion with the Church, and he was forthwith baptised. Fourteen years longer he served as a soldier, and then, at the age of forty, he devoted himself entirely to the service of the Church. He was eventually consecrated Bishop of Tours, having before that founded the first monastery in France at Lugojé. Of his saintly life, and extraordinary success in forwarding the holy cause he had at heart, it is not necessary to write here; he died in 401 A.D. His memory is celebrated in the English Church on 4th July and 11th November.

"Why does the seal of Dover bear the device of this saint?" is a question that has been often asked. The answer does not seem very difficult. The first English Church at Canterbury, after the mission of Augustine, was dedicated in St. Martin's name, and there can be no doubt but that the monastery founded in Saxon days on the Castle heights was similarly dedicated. When we find it in the town it is known as St. Martin's Priory, and, after its removal and reconstruction in the days of

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THE COMMON SEAL OF THE BARONS OF DOVER.
(*Obverse.*)

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Henry I., the old name is still preserved. It is by no means certain that the older priory was not "St. Martin and St. Mary," as the "New Work" certainly was; the title of St. Martin-le-Grand surviving the removal of the priory from the fact of its chief altar having been dedicated to this saint. The high altar of the Castle Church being dedicated to the Virgin, and the removal of the priory to the town would, similarly, account for that church being afterwards known as St. Mary-in-the-Castle (*infra castrum Dovorre*). When we remember the paramount authority of the Church in early days, and the extremely close connection between the priory and the town, the original common hall was, as we have seen, a part of the old priory, it requires very little imagination to understand that when the barons of Dover first devised their common seal they would employ for its reverse the device of one who had really become the patron saint of their town. It is, in our opinion, much to be regretted that none of the modern churches have been dedicated in the name of St. Martin, an easy means of reviving ancient traditions having thus been lost. The rapid increase in the population will soon necessitate further church accommodation, and we hope that another opportunity of doing so will not be missed. This seal is still used by the corporation, and has therefore served its purpose for six centuries.

There are also three mayors' seals, all of them inscribed "SIGILLVM + MAIORATVS + PORTVS + DOVORIE". The oldest is a girdle seal of latten, undated, which has been ascribed to the days of Edward I., but we are inclined to place it in the year 1495, when the "Wardens of the Wyke" were first appointed, and the town accounts headed "Town and Port of Dover" for the first time. Dover was always in historic times a Cinque Port, but the port was ruled until that date by a king's officer,

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called Warden of the Port. The second mayor's seal was made in 1572, and the third, oval in shape, is quite modern. They all bear the device of St. Martin.

Fox Davies is wrong in stating that the town possesses no arms, and Burke, who gives *Azure, a cross argent, between four leopards' faces, or*, is also incorrect. These arms are to be seen on the base of the official seal of Robert, Prior of Dover (1193-1196), an impression of which is in the Dover Museum, but we have been unable to discover any use of them by the town until the middle of the present century. They were probably the arms of the prior himself, as the Seal of St. Martin's was very similar to that of the town.

Another ancient possession of the corporation is the beautiful horn which figures so conspicuously in the history of the town. Made of latten, "it measures in a straight line 28 inches, the diameter of the bell being 5 inches, and of the embouchure, or mouthpiece, $1\frac{7}{10}$ inches. It is finely and deeply chased over its entire surface, except the smaller end, with a spiral design of foliage with trefoils; and on a band, by which it is encircled at four inches from the mouth, are the talismanic letters + A + G + L + A. On the band is also IOHANNES, and on a scroll starting from the band and continued among the foliage the inscription is continued DE – ALEMAINE – ME – FECIT." On a small tablet the letters "I. H. C." are also inscribed. The four letters AGLA simply represent a name for God (אַגְלָא) used by the Cabalists. The special merit in using this word, instead of one of the more ordinary names of the Almighty, lay in the fact that each letter was the initial of another word, and the name when fully expanded became an ascription of praise. "Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord!" *Attah Gibbor Le'olam Adonay*, or in the original אתה גבור לעולם אדני.

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Very varying dates have been ascribed to this horn, but the first mention we have found of it in the records is for its repair in the middle of the sixteenth century. The Cabalist writings were studied by Christians as early as the thirteenth century, so that an earlier date is possible.

The corporation mace is of silver gilt, and is a handsome and valuable piece of work. It was made in 1677, and bears the following inscription: *Carolus – Hic – Posuit – Vestigia – Prima – Secundus – May:* 25: 1660+. Previous to the purchase of this mace three smaller ones, sold in 1691, were used.

A most interesting account of all the borough insignia and possessions can be found in a small book published in 1898 by Colonel E. W. Knocker; one thing, however, must be noticed, and that is that the plate presented to the corporation by the Earl of Albermarle in 1685 has disappeared, and does not figure in the book.

The passing of the Reform Act of 1832 caused a change in the method of electing members to Parliament, the franchise being extended to others than freemen. It was not until the year 1867 that the representation of the borough was reduced to one by the second Reform Act. The present member is Mr. George Wyndham, who is Under Secretary of State for War.

The change in the aspect of the town has been immense during the present century, especially within the past ten years. In 1802, war having again broken out with France, a ditch was dug from the Pent, at Bench Street, to Guilford Battery, built about 1779, as a defence against any hostile landing. The Shaft Barracks and the Grand Shaft Staircase were also commenced this year. Considerable works were erected on the Western Heights, the Casemates in Drop Redoubt being com-

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pleted in 1808. Between 1830 and 1843 the three batteries, North's, Amherst's and Townshend's, were sold and destroyed, the latter being purchased by the South-Eastern Railway. In 1836 Castle Street was built, and a sum of £3026 was paid by the corporation for the property which was taken to open it into the Market Place. The site of the old jail was also purchased, and the present market built. In 1838 the scheme for restoring the Maison Dieu was started by Mr. Pett Thompson, the mayor; Bench Street was widened and Cambridge Terrace built. In 1846 the Duke of Wellington opened "Wellington" Bridge, the Pent thenceforward being termed Wellington Dock. In 1860 the old Town Hall was removed from the Market Place, and the Rifles Monument erected in Bench Street. In 1871 Dover College was inaugurated by Lord Granville, and six years later Granville Gardens were formed on the site of the old baths. The Town Hall and Connaught Park were opened by the Duke of Connaught in 1882, and in 1884 the Connaught Road was widened; and in the next year the gardens on Old Castle Hill were laid out. In 1893 the Cannon and Biggin Streets' improvements were inaugurated, and have done more than anything else to improve the town. Many other changes could have been chronicled, but sufficient has been written to point out the vast strides that the town has made since the accession of Queen Victoria. The town has overflowed its old boundaries in every possible direction, and before long the whole of Hougham and River must come within the borough. The population returns will give a better idea of the growth of the town than anything else, and we append them for different periods, 1801, 8657; 1811, 10,247; 1861, 24,970; 1881, 30,270; and we may believe that in 1901 the number will total over 40,000.

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The ratable value has also more than doubled itself within the last thirty years, being at the present time £179,000.

In 1836 the Dover Museum was started by Mr. Pett Thompson who presented it with a collection of stuffed birds. In 1853 the Plomley collection was added, and the museum at the present time is by no means unworthy of the town which owns it.

An event of great importance to Dover was the opening of the South Eastern Railway on 6th February, 1844. The occasion was celebrated by a grand municipal procession and banquet. The London, Chatham and Dover Railway was not opened until 1860. Telegraphic communication was opened with Calais in 1850, and in the previous year the Public Health Act was adopted, the whole management of local affairs henceforward being in the hands of the corporation. Dover Hospital was opened in 1850, and four years later the waterworks were completed. The modern system of drainage was finished in 1858, although constant improvements have since been made.

Dover, during the century, has been visited by many distinguished personages. In 1812 the allied sovereigns landed here, and in 1854 Napoleon III. and his empress were received by the mayor. The queen was in Dover in 1858, and the King of Italy, the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Russia also passed through the town. Garibaldi, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener of Khartoum also received congratulatory addresses from the corporation when they visited Dover.

There are several charities connected with the town, all of which are now under the care of the Municipal Charity Trustees. The most important are the almshouses, Burchfield, Rice, Neild and Papillon's Charities.

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The almshouses are an ancient foundation, whose origin is uncertain; the others were founded in 1883, 1841, 1810 and 1701 respectively.

To the eighteenth century properly belongs the beginning of the history of the volunteer movement in Dover and East Kent generally. During the American War the Warden, instead of calling out the militia, suggested the formation of the Cinque Ports' Volunteers, for service in the kingdom only, and, the idea being warmly taken up, a force was raised. We are not certain of the exact date of this movement, but are inclined to place it in the year 1777, when volunteers are known to have been in existence in Canterbury. The regiment was disbanded at the close of the war, and nothing further was done until William Pitt, then Warden, opened a subscription list with £1000 to secure the formation of "Several companies of horse and foot, to be called Fencibles". Over £6000 were raised, of which Dover supplied £885 2s. 6d. In 1798 329 men were returned as serving in different volunteer corps in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin in Dover, which is a sign that the movement was well supported in the town. From a diary of an old Dover resident, now in the possession of the corporation, it appears that on 4th June, 1798, the volunteers took part in the king's birthday parade, and in the following year were inspected by the king on Coxheath. Dover was the headquarters of the first battalion of this force, which was utilised mainly as a corps of signallers, "being stationed at different places along the coast to transmit to the others inland the news of the approach, if it should ever come, of the French fleet". The regiment was disbanded after the battle of Waterloo.

In 1859 the real movement, the extraordinary result of which we see in the present day, began, and by the

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following year nearly every town in Kent possessed either a rifle or volunteer corps. The Cinque Ports had two battalions, called respectively the 1st Cinque Ports' Administrative Battalion, commanded by the Hon. H. E. St. Gage, and the 2nd Cinque Ports' Administrative Battalion, comprising six companies (Dover, Ramsgate, Hythe, Folkestone and Margate), and commanded by Major G. A. Young. In 1874 the 2nd Cinque Ports and 4th Kent Volunteer Rifles were joined, under the title of the 5th East Kent Rifle Volunteers. In 1880 it became the 2nd East Kent Rifle Volunteers, and in 1883 its title was changed to the 1st Volunteer Battalion, the Buffs (East Kent Regiment). It should be stated that before the Cinque Ports' battalions were formed (1861) companies existed in the various towns, and in 1860 Captain Churchward commanded the Dover company (then called the 8th Cinque Ports' Rifle Volunteers). At its formation this company wore an undress uniform consisting of a red garibaldi shirt and white trousers. This was afterwards changed to the well-known grey cloth, and later to the present dark green with red facings. Captain Knocker succeeded Captain Churchward, and was in turn succeeded by Captains Crundall, Chignell, Vernon Knocker and Reginald Knocker. The battalion is now, and has been since 1874, commanded by Colonel E. W. Knocker, C.B., V.D.

The portsmen had been accustomed in much earlier days to form companies of men to guard the shore and prevent piratical parties landing and plundering their towns, and we find references to the Selected Band and the two Trained Bands of Dover in the middle ages. Efforts were constantly made from the days of Henry VIII. to induce the ports to raise men for military service outside their liberties, but they seem to have been

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successfully resisted, and the militia laws of Charles II.'s reign recognised their ancient privileges.

Henry VIII. was, we believe, the first to impress portsmen for service in the royal navy, and this does not seem to have been resisted in the same spirit as forced service in the land forces of the Crown was. It was recognised that under their charters they were bound to supply a certain number of men, and the warrants for the requisite number of seamen were issued through the Warden to the mayors, who executed them. One instance of this will suffice, on 17th February, 1691, a warrant was issued to the Constable of Dover Castle to impress 300 seamen in the Cinque Ports. "Straggling seamen" were frequently ordered to be impressed within their liberties.

As Dover has given a title to several noblemen, and is still one of the titles of Viscount Clifden, we append a list of those who have been thus distinguished from the earliest times.

1. Fulbert, or Fobert, de Dover, was Baron of Dover by tenure. He was also Lord of Chilham. He died before 1139.
2. Hugh de Dover, succeeded his father, and died, without offspring, after 1167.
3. John de Dover, nephew and heir of the above, died after 1174.
4. Fulbert de Dover, son and heir of John. He built Chilham Castle.
5. Robert de Dover, son and heir of Fulbert. He died before 1204, leaving one daughter Röesia, who married (1) Nicholas Fitz Alan, and (2) Richard, the bastard son of King John.
6. Richard de Dover, inherited the barony in right of his wife, Röesia. He is indiscriminately spoken of as Richard de Warren, Richard de

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Chilham, or Richard de Dover. He died before 1232.

7. Richard de Dover, son and heir, he died 1271.
8. Richard de Dover, son and heir, he died without offspring, his estates going to his sister Isabel, who married (1) David de Strabolgi, Earl of Athol, and (2) Alexander Baliol, elder brother of John Baliol, King of Scotland. Isabel having no children the barony became extinct.
9. Henry, Earl of Dover, Henry Carey, fourth Baron Hunsdon, and first Viscount Rochford, was on 8th March, 1628, created Earl of Dover. He died in 1668.
10. John, Earl of Dover, son and heir of Henry. He died in 1677 without offspring and the earldom became extinct.
11. Henry, Baron Dover, Henry Jermyn, brother of Lord Jermyn, was created Baron Dover on 13th May, 1685. He died in 1708, when the barony became extinct.
12. James, Duke of Dover, James Douglas, second Duke of Queensberry in Scotland, was created Baron Ripon, Marquess of Beverley and Duke of Dover on 26th May, 1708, for life, with remainder to his second son Charles, Earl of Solway. He died in 1711.
13. Charles, Duke of Dover, second son of James, whom he succeeded. He died in 1778, when the title became extinct.
14. Joseph, Baron Dover, Joseph Yorke, son of the Earl of Hardwicke, was created Baron of Dover on 18th September, 1788. He died in 1792, when the barony became extinct.

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15. GEORGE, BARON OF DOVER, George James Welbore Agar-Ellis, son and heir of Lord Clifden, was created Baron of Dover on 20th June, 1831. He died in 1833.
16. HENRY, Viscount Clifden, his son and heir, was also BARON DOVER and Baron Mendip. He died in 1895.
17. LEOPOLD, Viscount Clifden, uncle of the above, BARON DOVER and Baron Mendip.

Dover has also given a title to several suffragan bishops, the first occasion being in the reign of Henry VIII. The archbishop nominated "two spiritual persons, learned, honest, and discreet, and of good conversation" to the king, who made his choice. In this manner RICHARD INGWORTH, Prior of Longley Regis, was consecrated Bishop of Dover in 1537. His jurisdiction extended over the Diocese of Canterbury, Calais and its Marches. RICHARD THORNDEN succeeded him in 1543, he changed his opinions on the accession of Queen Mary, and was the first to revive the mass in Dover. The queen repealed the act for suffragans, and foreign titles were assumed again for a short time. In 1557 Thomas Chilham acted as suffragan to the archbishop, but he was not known as Bishop of Dover. In 1559 RICHARD ROGERS was consecrated, and after the accession of Elizabeth the title of Bishop of Dover was brought into use again. Rogers died in 1597, and no other suffragan took his title from Dover until 1870, when Dr. Parry revived it. He was succeeded by Dr. Eden, now Bishop of Wakefield. The present suffragan is Dr. Walsh, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

We cannot bring our history of the town of Dover to a more suitable end than by giving as complete a list of its mayors as is possible. Very few towns can produce such a record.

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1258. James Lucas.
1295. Thomas Edward Poynte.
1299. John de Mari.
1329. William Hurtyn.
1342. John Monyn.
1354. Richard atte Halle.
1356. Peter Reade.
1357. Nicholas atte Halle.
1358. Nicholas atte Halle.
1359. Peter Reade.
1360.
1361.
1362.
1363.
1364.
1365. William de Denne.
1366. Nicholas atte Halle.
1367. Nicholas atte Halle.
1368. Thomas Spisor.
1369. Thomas Spisor.
1370. Simon Monyn.
1371. John atte Halle.
1372. John Monyn.
1373. John atte Halle.
1374.
1375. John Monyn, senior.
1376.
1377. John Gerold.
1378. John Strete.
1379.
1380. John Halle, M.P.
1381. John Halle, M.P.
1382. John Giles.
1383. John Giles.
1384. Peter Reade.
1385. John Strete.
1386. John Monyn.
1387. John Monyn.
1388. John Monyn.
1389. John atte Halle.
1390. John Giles.
1391. John Giles.
1392. John atte Halle.
1393. John Giles.
1394. John atte Halle.
1395. John Strete.
1396. John Monyn.
1397. John Strete.
1398. John Strete.
1399. John Giles.
1400. John Strete.
1401. John Giles.
1402. Peter Reade.
1403. John Monyn.
1404. John Strete.
1405. John Strete.
1406. John Strete (?).
1407. Thomas Giles.
1408. John Strete.
1409. John Strete.
1410. John Strete.
1411. John Evebrok.
1412. John Garton.
1413. Thomas Giles.
1414. John Garton.
1415. Walter Stratton.
1416. John Garton.
1417. Walter Stratton.
1418. Walter Stratton.
1419. Thomas Crouche.
1420. Thomas Crouche, M.P.
1421. Walter Stratton.
1422. Thomas Arnold.
1423. Walter Stratton.
1424. Thomas Arnold.
1425. John Braban.
1426. Walter Stratton.
1427. John Braban.
1428. Walter Stratton.
1429. Walter Stratton.
1430. Thomas Arnold.
1431. Walter Stratton.

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1432. Walter Stratton.
1433. John Braban.
1434. John Braban.
1435. John Braban.
1436. William Brewys.
1437. William Brewys.
1438. William Brewys.
1439. Walter Stratton.
1440. William Brewys.
1441. John Warde.
1442. John Warde.
1443. William Brewys.
1444. Sir Ralph Toke, *Seneschal and Marshal of D. C.*
1445. Sir Ralph Toke.
1446. Sir Ralph Toke.
1447. Sir Ralph Toke.
1448. Sir Ralph Toke.
1449. Thomas Gore.
1450. { Thomas Gore. / Richard Grigge.
1451. Richard Grigge.
1452. Richard Grigge.
1453. Sir Thomas Doyley.
1454. Sir Thomas Doyley.
1455. Sir Thomas Doyley.
1456. Sir Thomas Gore.
1457. Sir Thomas Gore.
1458.
1459.
1460.
1461. Richard Palmer.
1462. Sir Thomas Gore.
1463.
1464.
1465.
1466. Sir Thomas Gore.
1467. Thomas Hextall.
1468. Thomas Hextall.
1469. Thomas Hextall.
1470. Richard Palmer.
1471. Thomas Hextall.
1472. Thomas Toke.
1473. Thomas Hextall, M.P.
1474. Thomas Hextall, M.P.
1475. Richard Plesynton.
1476. Robert Vincent.
1477. Thomas Hextall.
1478. Thomas Hextall.
1479. Richard Palmer.
1480. Thomas Hoche.
1481. Thomas Hextall.
1482. John Byngham.
1483. John Byngham.
1484. John Byngham.
1485. Robert Vincent.
1486. John Tempilman.
1487. John Byngham.
1488. Robert Vincent.
1489. Robert Vincent.
1490. Edward Hextall.
1491. Robert Vincent.
1492. Henry Balgy.
1493. William Warren.
1494. Edward Hextall.
1495. Edward Hextall.
1496. Richard Fyneux.
1497. John Byngham.
1498. John Byngham.
1499. William Stone.
1500. William Stone.
1501. John Pocok.
1502. Richard Fyneux.
1503. Richard Fyneux.
1504. Oliver Lythgo.
1505. Robert Nethersole.
1506. Edward Hextall.
1507. Richard Fyneux.
1508. Robert Nethersole.
1509. Richard Monyn.
1510. Nicholas Templeman.
1511. John Broke.

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1512. Robert Nethersole.
1513. Nicholas Aldy.
1514. Richard Fyneux.
1515. Thomas Vaughan.
1516. John Gregorie.
1517. Nicholas Aldy.
1518. Thomas Vaughan.
1519. Robert Weltden.
1520. John Elam.
1521. Robert Stelman.
1522. Robert Stelman.
1523. Robert Dyar.
1524. John Broke.
1525. John Warren.
1526. Richard Conche.
1527. Thomas Vaughan.
1528. Robert Fluce.
1529. Robert Fluce.
John Francis, his substitute.
1530.
1531. . . . Tong.
1532. Thomas Vaughan.
1533. Edward Maye.
1534. John Paynter.
1535. John Paynter.
1536. John Warren.
1537. Ralph Buffkyn.
1538. Ralph Buffkyn.
1539. John Bowlles.
1540. John Warren.
1541. Thomas Foxley.
1542. Robert Justice.
1543. John Elam.
1544. William Fisher.
1545. Thomas Collye.
1546. Thomas Collye.
Richard Fynneas.
1547. Richard Fynneas.
1548. Hugo Brackett.
Thomas Mauncell.
1549. Thomas Warren, M.P.
1550. Thomas Warren, M.P.
Thomas Portwaye.
1551. Robert Justice.
1552. Thomas Fynnett.
1553. Thomas Fynnett.
1554. Richard Elam.
1555. Adrian Whytte.
1556. Adrian Whytte.
1557. Thomas Warren, M.P.
1558. Thomas Collye.
1559. Thomas Pepper.
1560. Richard Jebbes.
1561. William Hannyngton.
1562. William Hannyngton.
John Robyns.
1563. Thomas Pepper.
1564. William Burder.
1565. Thomas Pepper.
1566. Thomas Watson.
1567. Thomas Pepper.
1568. John Edwards.
1569. Richard Elam.
1570. Thomas Burnell.
1571. Thomas Andrewe, M.P.
1572. Thomas Andrewe, M.P.
1573. Thomas Andrewe, M.P.
1574. Thomas Warren, M.P.
1575. Thomas Warren, M.P.
1576. John Lucas.
1577. Robert Fynnett.
1578. Robert Fynnett.
1579. Thomas Allyn.
1580. John Garrett.
1581. John Garrett.
1582. Thomas Andrew, M.P. (suspended).
1583. Thomas Andrew.
William Willis.
1584. Thomas Watson.
1585. William Willis.

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1586. Thomas Brodgatte.
1587. Thomas Brodgatte.
1588. John Tench.
1589. Henry Lennard, M.P.
1590. Jeffrey Glydd.
1591. Humphrey Meede.
1592. Thomas Elwoode, M.P.
1593. Robert Burnett.
1594. John Skeythe.
1595. George Bynge, M.P.
1596. George Bynge, M.P.
1597. William Leonard, M.P.
1598. Jeremy Garrett.
1599. Edward Kempe.
1600. John Bachelor.
1601. John Bradgate, M.P.
1602. Richard Siseley.
1603. William Nethersole.
1604. George Bynge, M.P.
1605. George Bynge, M.P.
1606. John Tooke.
1607. Henry Steede.
1608. Robert Garrett.
1609. Robert Austen.
1610. William Leonard.
1611. William Leonard.
1612. { Edward Kempe *ob.*
{ William Warde.
1613. William Warde.
1614. Robert Garrett.
1615. John Waad.
1616. Thomas Foord.
1617. Nicholas Eaton.
1618. William Ward.
1619. William Ward.
1620. John Bendgar.
1621. Robert Garrett.
1622. Henry Steed.
1623. John Waad.
1624. John Waad.
1625. Thomas Foord.
1626. John Pringle, M.P.
1627. Stephen Monins.
1628. Stephen Monins.
1629. Stephen Monins.
1630. Nicholas Eaton.
1631. Nicholas Eaton.
1632. Thomas Tyddeman.
1633. Thomas Tyddeman.
1634. Luke Pepper.
1635. Luke Pepper.
1636. Stephen Monins.
1637. Stephen Monins.
1638. Thomas Day.
1639. Thomas Day.
1640. Thomas Tyddyman.
1641. Thomas Cullen.
1542. Thomas Cullen.
1643. Luke Brayle Foord.
1644. John Golder.
1645. John Golder.
1646. John Golder.
1647. Nicholas Roberts.
1648. { Nathaniel Smith *ob.*
{ Thomas Day.
1649. William Richards.
1650. { John Broome *ob.*
{ Edward Prescott.
1651. William Cullen.
1652. William Cullen.
1653. Edward Prescott.
1654. Valentine Tatnell.
1655. Thomas White.
1656. Thomas White.
1657. William Cullen.
1658. William Cullen.
1659. Thomas Broome (Sergeant at Law).
1660. John Loome.
1661. John Golder.
1662. Richard Jacob.
1663. William Eaton.

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1664. Nicholas Eaton.
1665. George West.
1666. William Stokes, M.P.
1667. William Stokes, M.P.
1668. John Matson.
1669. John Matson.
1670. Richard Barley.
1671. Richard Barley.
1672. Richard Jacob.
1673. Richard Jacob.
1674. John Bullacke.
1675. John Bullacke.
1676. William Stokes.
1677. William Stokes.
1678. William Stokes.
1679. Nicholas Cullen, M.P.
1680. Nicholas Cullen, M.P.
1681. Nicholas Cullen, M.P.
1682. Nicholas Cullen, M.P.
1683. William Stokes, M.P. (removed).
George West.
1684. Thomas Teddeman.
1685. Robert Jacob.
1686. Richard Cooke.
1687. Captain George West.
1688. Robert Jacob (removed by king).
Edwards Roberts (removed by king).
William Stokes, M.P.
1689. John Bullack.
1690. Thomas Scott.
1691. Thomas Scott.
1692. Clement Bucke.
1693. Clement Bucke.
1694. John Hollingbery.
1695. John Hollingbery.
1696. Edward Franklin.
1697. Edward Franklin.
1698. Edward Wivell.
1699. Edward Wivell.
1700. Edward Wivell.
1701. John Hollingbery.
1702. John Hollingbery.
1703. John Hollingbery.
1704. John Hollingbery.
1705. Peatley Sturgis.
1706. Peatley Sturgis.
1707. Edward Wivell.
1708. Edward Wivell.
1709. Edward Wivell.
1710. Richard Bax.
1711. Robert Jacob.
1712. Thomas Broadley.
1713. James Flinder.
1714. John Knott.
1715. Samuel Walton.
1716. John Cannon.
1717. James Flinder.
1718. John Hollingbery.
1719. Henry Blinston.
1720. James Flinder.
1721. John Hollingbery (removed).
John Knott.
1722. Henry Blinston.
1723. John Perkins.
1724. Matthew Kennett.
1725. Charles Smith.
1726. James Lambe.
1727. John Perkins.
1728. Thomas Broadley.
1729. Henry Blinstone *ob.* 28th Sept.
Charles Smith.
1730. Goddard Gay.
1731. Thomas Underdown.
1732. James Hammond.
1733. Thomas Underdown.
1734. Thomas Wickes.
1735. John Matson.

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1736. Peter Monins.
1737. James Gunman.
1738. John Dalgleish.
1739. Goddard Gay.
1740. Richard Hollingbery.
1741. Robert Wellard.
1742. Nathaniel Smith.
1743. Vincent Underdown.
1744. Cuthbert Hodgson.
1745. Vincent Underdown.
1646. John Dalgleish.
1747. Robert Walker.
1748. Richards Rouse.
1749. Thomas Beane.
1750. Henry Jelly.
1751. Christopher Gunman.
1752. John Broadley.
1753. Nathaniel Smith.
1754. Henry Jelly.
1755. Michael Russell.
1756. John Bazeley.
1757. Alexander Wellard.
1758. Thomas Richards.
1759. Richards Rouse.
1760. Christopher Gunman.
1761. John Bazeley.
1762. Michael Russell.
1763. James Hammond.
1764. Robert Wellard.
1765. Hughes Minet.
1766. David Sutton.
1767. John Latham.
1768. Thomas Broadley.
1769. John Coleman.
1770. Thomas Bateman Lane.
1771. Edmund Barham.
1772. Sampson Farbrace.
1773. Christopher Gunman.
1774. Henry Jelly.
1775. James Hammond.
1776. James Gunman.
1777. Matthew Kennett.
1778. Phineas Stringer.
1779. John Latham.
1780. Thomas Bateman Lane.
1781. Henry Jelly.
1782. Phineas Stringer.
1783. James Hammond.
1784. James Gunman.
1785. Thomas Bateman Lane.
1786. Thomas Boyton.
1787. Robert Thompson.
1788. John Latham.
1789. James Gunman.
1790. Henry Jelly.
1791. Matthew Kennett.
1792. Robert Westfield.
1793. William King.
1794. Thomas Bateman Lane.
1795. Thomas Mantell.
1796. Robert Finnis.
1797. William Knocker.
1798. William King.
1799. Thomas Mantell.
1800. Thomas Bateman Lane.
1801. George Stringer.
1802. William Knocker.
1803. Jonathan Osborn.
1804. Robert Walker.
1805. Phineas Kennett.
1806. Robert Hunt.
1807. William King.
1808. Edward Thompson.
1809. Thomas Mantell.
1810. George Dell.
1811. Edward Thompson.
1812. Sir Thomas Mantell.
1813. James Walker.
1814. Henshaw Latham.
1815. George Stringer.
1816. Jonathan Osborn.
1817. William Knocker.

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1818. Robert Walker.
1819. Sir Thomas Mantell.
1820. George Dell.
1821. Henshaw Latham.
1822. John Jeken.
1823. Joseph Webb Pilcher.
1824. Sir Thomas Mantell.
1825. John Finnis.
1826. George Stringer.
1827. John Shipdem.
1828. Matthew Kennett.
1829. Henry Pringle Bruyeres.
1830. Henshaw Latham.
1831. John Coleman.
1832. William Knocker.
1833. Joseph Webb Pilcher.
1834. William Cocke.
1835. John Shipdem.
1836. Edward Pett Thompson. William Cocke (elected 9th November, first Mayor under Municipal Corporations Act).
1837. Michael Elwin.
1838. Edward P. Thompson.
1839. William Cocke.
1840. Edward Poole.
1841. Edward Poole.
1842. William Clarke.
1843. William Clarke.
1844. William Clarke.
1844. William Clarke.
1845. William Clarke.
1846. William Cocke.
1847. William Cocke.
1848. Anthony Freeman Payn.
1849. Steriker Finnis.
1850. Steriker Finnis.
1851. Thomas Birch.
1852. Charles Lamb.
1853. James Poulter.
1854. William Henry Payn.
1855. James Worsfold.
1856. Thomas Birch.
1857. Thomas Birch, *ob.* Edward Ferrand Astley.
1858. Edward Ferrand Astley.
1859. James Cuthbert Ottaway.
1860. John Birmingham.
1861. John Birmingham.
1862. James Worsfold.
1863. Jeffery Wheeloch Noble.
1864. Jeffery Wheeloch Noble *ob.* William Rigden Mummery.
1865. William Rigden Mummery.
1866. William Rigden Mummery.
1867. Joseph George Churchward.
1868. John Birmingham.
1869. John Birmingham.
1870. Edward Knocker.
1871. Richard Dickeson.
1872. Edward Rutley Mowll.
1873. Frederick Samuel Peirce.
1874. Frederick Samuel Peirce.
1875. Percy Simpson Court.
1876. George Fielding.
1877. Percy Simpson Court.
1878. Alexander Bottle.
1879. Richard Dickeson.
1880. Richard Dickeson.
1881. John Lade Bradley.
1882. Sir Richard Dickeson.
1883. Rowland Rees.
1884. Thomas Viney Brown.
1885. William John Adcock.
1886. William Henry Crundall.
1887. William Henry Crundall.

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1888. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1889. Edward Lukey.
1890. William John Adcock.
1891. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1892. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1893. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1894. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1895. Matthew Pepper.
1896. Henry Minter Baker.
1897. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1898. Sir William Henry Crundall.
1899.
1900.

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CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

ST. MARTIN-LE-GRAND—ST. MARTIN AND ST. MARY, NEWARK—ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, OR THE MAISON DIEU—ST. MARY THE VIRGIN—ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE—ST. PETER—ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL—ARCLIFFE CHAPEL—THE KNIGHT TEMPLARS' CHURCH—A WAYSIDE CHAPEL.

St. Martin-le-Grand.

IT has already been stated (p. 31) that, before the year 640 A.D., Eadbald, the son and successor of Æthelberht, established a religious foundation in the Castle for a number of canons, variously stated to have been from six to twenty. About the year 726 Withred, the then king, removed the society to the town, building for their use the monastery of St. Martin-le-Grand. Of these buildings nothing now remains, and it is highly probable that they were partly consumed in the fire created by the troops of William I. Until fifty years ago considerable ruins of the church were to be seen in the market-place, and it was evident that they had formed part of a Norman structure. Odo of Bayeux is reported to have "endeavoured to promote the welfare of this monastery," and the original buildings were in all probability re-erected on a grander scale during his time. Of these ruins practically nothing now remains, one small portion of a wall being all that has survived the demolishing hand of the modern builder. The Rev. F.

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C. Plumptre, however, published in 1861 a most interesting account of the church, and we avail ourselves of the description he then gave. The church was cruciform in shape, the length of the chancel from the transept to the entrance of the central apsidal chapel being about eighty feet. The length of the transepts was thirty feet. The width of the nave was sixty feet, its length is uncertain, but probably reached nearly 140 feet.

The eastern end consisted of three apsidal chapels all opening into the semi-circular chancel. These chapels were fifteen feet deep, and each contained a high altar. They each consisted of two storeys, the upper chapels passing into the triforium. In the interior there were four arches on each side of the choir, with a central arch opposite the central chapel. In 1860 three of the arches on the north side were still in good preservation, with the triforium and remains of the clerestory above it. A chapel projected from the east side of each of the transepts. The arches which supported the central tower were semi-circular, and sprang "from a plain massive abacus". The triforium was faced with Caen stone, and was pierced with semi-circular arches. Considerable quantities of old Roman building materials, taken from the baths, were used in the construction of the church, the vaulting of the north aisle being made of tufa. As a matter of fact the east end of the church was built upon the floor of the Roman baths. The nave and its aisles were demolished at the end of the sixteenth century, and its pews were given by Henry VIII. for the use of the worshippers in St. Mary the Virgin. The nave was for a long period used as a burial-ground, and Charles Churchill, the poet, was buried there in 1764. A considerable portion of the east end of the church remained until 1881, when it was nearly all destroyed. Illustrations

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of these remains will be found in the *Archæologia Cantiana* (vol. xx., 120).

From 691 to 1130 the church of St. Martin was regarded as a royal chapel, and the canons were exempt from the jurisdiction of any ordinary or judge, save only the King and the Pope. They were largely endowed, and in the Domesday Survey their lands are described under a separate heading as "*Terra Canonicorum S. Martini de Dovre*," and were valued at £48 6s. 4d. In the reign of Henry I. the canons were accused of behaving with gross immorality, and the archbishop, William de Corbeuil, informed the king that he was unable to check their irregularities as they were not under his control. For more than six years continuous complaints were brought against them, until at length the king granted the canons to the archbishop and Christ Church Priory at Canterbury. The following extract from a satire on the monastic orders written in the days of Edward I. exhibits in a strong light the popular feeling with respect to secular canons.

Des Chanoygnes Seculers,
Qe dames servent volenters,
Ont nos mestres un point treit,
E vueillent qe cel point seit
Bien tenuz e bien usées;
Quar c'est le point, bien sachez,
Que pluz ad en l'ordre mester,
Pur les freres solacer.
Si est, sur eschumygement,
Commandé molt estroitement,
Que chescun frere à sa sorour
Deit fere le giw d'amour
Devant matines adescement,
E après matines ensement;
E s'il le fet avant son departyr
Troiz foiz à son pleysyr,
Jà le frere blame ne avera,
Ne le Ordre enpeyré serra.

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The archbishop straightway turned adrift all the secular canons of St. Martin-le-Grand and commenced building a new priory and church at a greater distance from the town. The new priory, which was called St. Mary and St. Martin Newark (new work), was endowed with all the revenue of the old canons, and survived as a religious establishment until the reign of Henry VIII.

The old church of St. Martin-le-Grand, and it is worthy of note that it is termed *veterem ecclesiam* as early as 1180, has a parochial history almost unique in the annals of the Church. In the first place it was subject only to the archbishop himself, and exempt from the jurisdiction of any diocesan official. The Archdeacon of Canterbury, Richard de Ferringes, endeavoured to exercise his authority over it in 1284, but the mayor and commonalty of Dover opposing his claim the archbishop, after ordering an investigation, recognised the justice of their protest.

The extraordinary peculiarity of St. Martin-le-Grand was that it combined beneath its one roof the churches of three distinct parishes. The three altars in the lower apsidal chapels were dedicated respectively to St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and John the Baptist. It is beyond controversy that the three separate parishes so named all used as their parish church the one fabric now commonly known as St. Martin-le-Grand. As early as 1180 reference is made in a contemporary charter to the *parishes* of St. Martin-le-Grand, and as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century we find it stated that the town of Dover "is divided into six parishes, whereof three be under one roof at St. Martin's in the heart of the town" (Leland). The incumbent of St. Martin-le-Grand was called archipresbyter, and it seems likely that one of the monks or the prior of St. Martin Newark

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habitually exercised that office. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was found that the church and steeple were in bad repair, "the which doeth great hurt to the church of St. Nicholas". The church was closely connected with the town, as will be seen more clearly in that part of this book which deals with the history of Dover, and efforts were made by the townspeople to prevent the beautiful fabric falling into decay. It was finally dismantled about 1540, and it has been thought that the mayor and jurats received a grant of it from Elizabeth or purchased it from the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Henry VIII. certainly granted it. There is considerable doubt as to how the town gained possession of the buildings and land on which they stood, but they unquestionably did, and received rents from those who used the one and built upon the other. A letter exists from John Whalley, paymaster of the Harbour Works, to Cromwell, dated 22nd July, 1535, in which he says that certain lands had been given to John Martin of the value of £10. The priory land had been taken by the "principal persons in the Town," and he urges Cromwell to ask the king to write and make them yield up possession. This will probably explain how it was that the local possessions of the priory fell into the hands of the mayor and jurats and certain individuals. The king, seizing much, was not unwilling to propitiate the civic rulers by allowing them to retain a small portion of the spoil.

The altar of St. Nicholas was served by a separate priest, who is spoken of as the *persona* or rector, and who is distinctly stated to have had the cure of souls of the parish of St. Nicholas. A list of twenty-three names has been compiled of these rectors from the Priory Register, which still exists and is kept at Lambeth

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Palace. The first recorded appointment was that of Stephen de Polton as "Persona of the altar of St. Nicholas" in 1302. The last was that of John Joyner in 1516. In the Town Accounts of Dover for 1371 the following entry may be found: "Sir Nicholas (Godaventure), Rector of St. Nicholas, fined for assaulting William Oxenden iijs. ivd.". The rector of this church paid an annual "pension" to the prior of St. Martin Newark, which in 1511 was stated to be eleven shillings, the whole income of the office being but £3 6s. 4d. The parish seems to have possessed some land in Dover, but the mediæval tower in Bench Street, called St. Nicholas Church by Hasted and Lyon, was certainly one of the old town towers. This tower, which was still standing at the beginning of this century, was then called Marshes or Prison Tower, and seems to have been used as a place of confinement for French prisoners. According to Lyon, Thomas Hextal, M.P. and Mayor of Dover, was buried in the chancel of St. Nicholas in 1486, and in his will left to the churchwardens a croft of arable and pasture land at Maxton. One half of the rent was to be devoted to the repair of the church, the other half was to be given to the minister. There seems to have been an altar dedicated to St. John of Bridlington in the church.

The altar of St. John the Baptist was apparently not endowed, and the parishioners had to find the stipend. At the visitation of Archbishop Wareham the churchwardens reported that they had "no priest to serve the Church, but at the parish finding, and the parish is in such debility that it sufficeth not for a rector's sustenance". They also reported "that the parsonage is decayed because there is no parson and by reason of that is nigh lost". In the year 1513 John Byngham was buried in

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his parish church of St. John the Baptist, and he bequeathed to the Light of St. Hilary, before our Lady Undercroft, six tapers, every one of them weighing three-quarters of a pound of wax, to be renewed yearly for five years. This chapel was probably beneath the altar of John the Baptist and was dedicated by three Scotch bishops. It is spoken of as the altar of St. Mary-sub-volta, and was very poorly endowed. "Honorius III. in 1226 granted an indulgence, for one fourth part of their crimes, and half their venial sins, truly confessed, to all pilgrims visiting it on the anniversaries of its dedication." A hundred and fifty years later Gregory XI. granted indulgences of 100 days to every one giving a benefaction for the repair of the altar. The following is a list of the rectors of this parish, extracted from the register at Lambeth: 1346, Andrew . . .; 1349, Henry Franklin; 13 . . . , Thomas Cockyl; 1375, Thomas Wit; 14 . . . , Thomas Harry; 1419, Milo Faunt; 1426, John Goldsmith; 1447, John Skales; 1468-9, Stephen Willes.

Although the western portions of this interesting church were demolished in 1536, the altars were still in existence ten years later. The mayor and jurats, who seem to have appropriated it, then let the site of the church and churchyard upon lease, and so finally put a stop to the celebration of divine worship in a place hallowed by eight centuries of consecration. The pyx and silver bells weighing fifty-two and a half ounces belonging to St. Martin were sold by the corporation in 1548 for £13 2s. 6d.

St. Martin and St. Mary, Newark.

William de Corbeuil immediately on receiving the grant of St. Martin's Priory proceeded to lay the foundations of another priory, as related above. This new

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collegiate building he dedicated to St. Mary and St. Martin, and he obtained the king's sanction to his placing a number of canons from Merton Abbey in charge of it. This intention was frustrated by the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who maintained that, by the original charter of 1130, they were themselves entitled to send monks from their own house, and select a prior to rule over them. The Bishop of Norwich and St. David's who had been sent by Corbeuil to consecrate the new priory, alarmed at the opposition of the Christ Church monks, returned without consecrating the building, and informed the archbishop of their reasons for having done so. It is reported that de Corbeuil was so agitated and distressed at the action taken by the Canterbury monks that it hastened his death, which took place in 1139. Theobald, the new archbishop, carried out the original intentions of the king and established in St. Martin Newark a society of Benedictine Monks selected from Christ Church, and appointed Asceline, the sacrist, as their first prior. The new foundation was made subordinate to the Prior of Canterbury, and as a result continual quarrels arose with respect to their various jurisdictions and privileges. These were finally settled by an arrangement which gave to St. Martin the actual control of its revenues and expenditure, the Priory of Canterbury retaining the right of regulation and superintendence, and of supplying, as occasion arose, a new prior and other members. It has been stated, and with some authority, that this arrangement was not made until St. Martin's had exhausted its revenues in continual litigation, and was practically reduced to poverty.

The buildings of the priory as re-established were chiefly erected round an open courtyard. The nave of the church formed the south boundary; the north tran-

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sept, the chapter house, the dormitory and several offices the eastern; other buildings leading to the King's Hall the north; the library and buttery and several other buildings the western. The refectory was built across the middle of the courtyard, forming an inner space about 110 feet square, which was surrounded by cloisters. Other buildings and a large garden existed, and the whole demesne was surrounded by a good wall. The main entrance was a gateway, still standing, which gave an easy access to the church.

The church was a magnificent cruciform structure, of something like 285 feet in length, and seventy feet in width. The internal measurement of the transepts from north to south was 155 feet, and its width twenty-five feet. The nave was flanked on either side by an aisle, and was separated from them by nine arches rising from massive columns of masonry five feet square, ornamented with small shafts at each angle. The central tower was supported upon four piers of stone nine feet square, and the transepts were adorned with double apsidal chapels, which closely resembled those in the eastern transept of Canterbury Cathedral. The southern transept could be entered by a door in its south-east corner. Effingham Street practically passes right through these transepts. The choir was flanked by two aisles which terminated in semicircular apses, they were separated from the choir by three arches ten feet wide on either side, springing from circular columns on square bases of Bethersden marble. The outer walls of the choir were supported by pilaster buttresses, and were marked by responds in the interior, and the westernmost bay was filled with a stone bench with an arcade resting upon it. The chancel some fifty feet in length was prolonged eastward and was square at its termination, a somewhat uncommon feature in

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Norman churches. During the demolition of this church for building purposes about 1845, twenty-one silver coins of Henry I. and Henry II. were discovered in a hole in the south wall of the choir. A line drawn through the centre of Saxon Street would pass along the north wall of the choir. The church was built in about four years, and large quantities of Caen stones were used in its construction, Henry I. having granted a quarry to W. de Corbeuil in Normandy for that purpose. According to Dugdale this quarry was known for a long period afterwards as the Quarry of St. Martin.

The Chapter House was built at the end of the north transept, and was some sixty feet long by twenty feet wide. It was semicircular at the east end. The external walls were decorated with pilasters, and "some of the courses of stonework seem to have been laid in a kind of pattern".

The refectory, which is still standing, was, after the suppression of the Priory, converted into a barn, which, in all probability, accounts for its survival. It was built of flint, with Caen stone buttresses, quoins and windows. The windows were eight in number on each side, and are plainly recessed without bead mouldings. The size of the refectory inside was 100 feet by twenty-seven feet, and the height thirty feet to the springing of the roof. Twelve feet from the ground a bold arcade runs round the four walls, and the windows are pierced through it. "The abaci and capitals of the north and south sides differ from those at the end, and do not properly accord with the style of the work. These capitals were evidently inserted after the French attack (in 1295). The windows on the south side have their sills at a higher level than those on the north, an arrangement necessitated by the height of the cloisters below." At the east end, where probably the daïs for the high table stood, traces of

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painting were found in 1845, apparently representing our Lord and twelve apostles at the last supper.

The King's Hall was situated on the north side of the Priory precincts. It was a building composed of Kentish rag and Caen stone, and measured internally eighty-five feet by thirty-four feet. It is divided externally by buttresses with six bays, with a bell-turret at the south-west corner. The windows are pointed in the early English style, but inside are semicircular. The interior is divided into two unequal parts by a row of five arches running from east to west, making a sort of aisle on the north side. The space which would have been occupied by the third arch from the east was filled up with a solid wall, which marked out an inner chamber which was supplied with a large fire-place. This inner chamber communicated with another building attached to the main hall on the north side, and could be approached from the great chamber also.

With regard to the other buildings it is not possible to say much; the buttery was next to the refectory as appears from the inventory taken at the time of the dissolution. Traces apparently of the cloister roof were to be found on the south side of the refectory, and that they existed is evident from Dugdale's account of the Priory. The gateway was erected probably about 1320 and is of the early decorated style. It was portcullised and groined.

It has always been claimed that the original Saxon foundation was supported by a tax on the shipping which entered the haven of Dover, and this contention is borne out by the fact that the Priory of St. Martin Newark was entitled to receive half of the passage money and one third of the toll on all merchandise. De Corbeuil obtained from Henry I. the grant of all the revenues enjoyed by

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the earlier monastery of St. Martin-le-Grand, and we have little hesitation in believing that this charge on the "rent" of Dover was one of their sources of income. In 1339 an "exemplification" was granted of "a certain record and judgment for the Prior of Dover by which it was adjudicated that he should have and wholly receive one half of the passage of Dover, and one third of the toll on the merchandise of Dover on every day in the week as in the time of Henry I.". In addition to this old-standing grant the prior was entitled to a tithe of herrings, and in 1320 a tithe of other fish was added. At the suppression of the priory the following lands and advowsons were in their possession, which were valued at about £228. The manors of Frith, Farthingloe, Retche, West Court, Dudmanscombe, Polton and Barton; and the churches of Appledore, Buckland, Coldred, Popshall, St. Margaret, Hougham and Guston; with numerous other lands and rents.

There are not many events of importance to chronicle in connection with the priory, but one item of interest has come down to us from the twelfth century. Geoffrey, the natural son of Henry II., was appointed Archbishop of York, and opposed himself to the authority of William Longchamp, Richard I.'s chancellor. Having taken a vow of absence from England for three years, Longchamp made this an excuse for issuing a writ for his arrest. This was executed by Matthew de Clera, the brother-in-law of the chancellor, Constable of Dover Castle. Geoffrey had taken refuge in the priory, and the Constable was compelled to use force to effect his capture, and imprisoned the archbishop in the Castle. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of the priory being besieged, and in all probability some considerable resistance was offered to the arrest of the archbishop.

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In 1295, during the raid made by the French, the priory was fired and ransacked. All the monks, with the exception of one, Thomas de la Hale, sought safety in flight. This monk, very old, and reputed to be very holy, was found by the French sitting in the dormitory. They used all possible means to make him discover the hiding place of the treasures of the house, but, failing to do so, slew him. On the return of the prior and the monks, after the ejection of the French from the town, his dead body was found, and he was hailed as a martyr. In a manuscript in the Bodleian Library there is an account of the "Life and Passion of Thomas de la Hale, Monk of Dover, slain by the French"; and in the British Museum, among the Cottonian MSS., a sketch of his death is to be seen. The cult of the "Martyr of Dover" continued for a considerable time, and in January, 1296, when John, Bishop of Winchester, visited the priory, he granted a forty days' indulgence to all Christian people who should pray for the soul of Thomas de la Hale. As a result his tomb was frequented by the devout, and it was pretended that his virtues had raised five dead people to life, and many cures of deaf, dumb, lame and blind were attributed to the same cause. Archbishop Wittlesey granted a similar indulgence in 1370. Richard II. requested the Pope to canonise de la Hale, and Adrian VI. issued a bull directing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to examine his claims for that distinction. They appointed the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, with others, to report on each miracle, but the fear of a rival to Thomas à Becket induced them to make an unfavourable report, and the bull of canonisation was never issued. An altar was, however, erected to him in the church of St. Mary and St. Martin, and in 1499 Thomas Riche, Vicar of Bocland,

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desired in his will to be buried "near the altar of the blessed Thomas de Halys" in the church of St. Martin. His tomb formed one of the chief attractions of the priory until its dissolution.

We have called the separate building, now used as a chapel, the King's Hall, because there are various references to the "King's Chamber" in the ancient documents, and it is not unlikely that, before the Keep in Dover Castle was finished, Henry I. and his successors found in the priory the only place suitable for their accommodation when in Dover. In 1308, for instance, "Edward II. in the King's Chamber in St. Martin's Priory, John de Langeton, Bishop of Chichester, the King's Chancellor, delivered up the Great Seal to the King, who gave it to Sir William de Melton to be carried beyond sea".

Henry VII. granted £20 from his exchequer to the "Priory of St. Mary and St. Martin towards the edifying and building of the same," from which it is evident that certain improvements were being carried on at that time (1487).

Henry II. granted the priory a fair, and they enjoyed this privilege until 1535, when the mayor and jurats of Dover continued it, and it was probably owing to this circumstance that the common market of Dover was eventually held near the ruins of St. Martin-le-Grand, the probable site of the ecclesiastical fair. Attached to the fair was a Court of Piepowder (*piepoudre*) at which cognisance was taken of all contracts, trespasses, debts and misdemeanours made and committed during the continuance of the fair. There were two other ecclesiastical fairs in Dover, those of St. Bartholomew and St. Margaret.

In December, 1534, the prior signed the submission

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of the priory to the royal supremacy, and the end was not then far off. On 23rd October, 1535, the priory was visited by the notorious Richard Layton, who in his report to Cromwell deals with it in one sentence. "The Prior of Dover and his monks are as bad as others. Sodomites there are none, for they have no lack of women." On 31st October an inventory of the House was made by Hales, "General Attorney of the King, and Sir John Thompson, one of the 'Masondew' Commissioners". We give a short summary of this inventory: "Choir and Vestry, a cross of silver with the crucifix; Mary and John of silver and parcel gilt; 3 chalices with paten; a censer; a pax with the crucifix; Mary and John; a Shyppe, a small spoon belonging to it; 2 cruets silver or silver gilt; an old relic, silver plate, copper and gilt; pix of copper and gilt with relics; little double cross of wood plated with silver; a basin of latyn gylted; one pair of orgaynes; a considerable number of vestments; coffers, candlesticks, and an old shrine, painted. Prior's Chamber, 2 beds and furniture, half a bible written on parchment, and seven books. Chapel next the Prior's Chamber, 2 mass books, 2 images in alabaster, a desk, and a 'sakering' bell." A "Great Chamber," a "White Chamber," with basin and ewer of pewter, the Prior's inner and outer parlour, the vault "where ye monks do dine," the buttery "next the same," a kitchen, the schoolmaster's chamber, and the Richard Elam chamber are also mentioned. A pix of silver gilt, "impledged to Thomas Mansell of Dover for £7," is also placed on the inventory. On 3rd November a petition was forwarded from the prior asking that the debts of the house might be paid, and stating that although the income was only £200 a year it had been put to great expense in entertaining English and foreign ambassadors. The "House

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of S. Martin's and New Worke of Dover" was formally surrendered by the prior, "John Lambert, *alias* Folkestone," on 16th November, 1535, and it cannot be said that Dover was any better for its suppression. The commissioners in their report of its surrender said: "It is well repaired, and the Prior has reduced the debt from £180 to £100," whilst of John Lambert they added, "of whose nowe case divers of the honest inhabitants of Dover show themselves very sorry".

The king granted all the lands, tithes and buildings to Richard, Suffragan Bishop of Dover, until he should promote him to a benefice of the value of £120 a year, and on that being done the Archbishop of Canterbury received a considerable portion of the priory property and revenue.

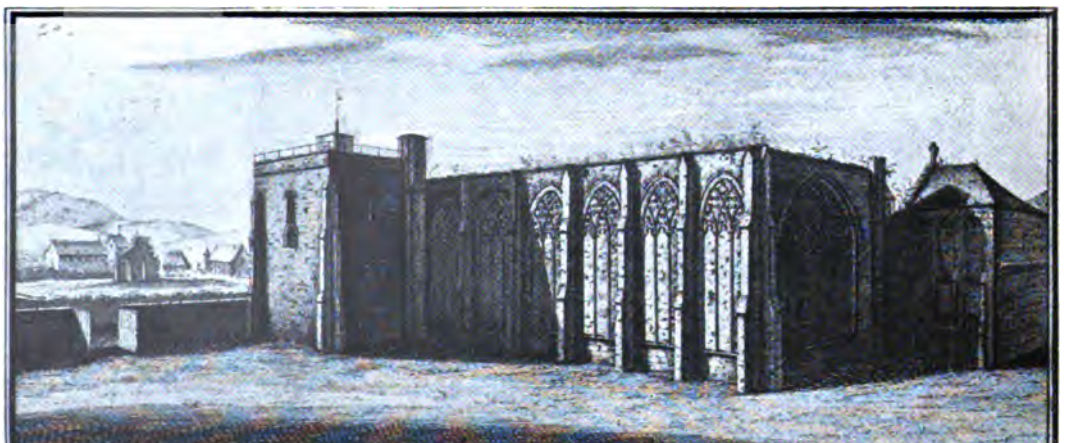
The grounds and buildings were leased to agricultural tenants, and for a considerable time were held by the Coleman family. In 1840 a building lease was granted to Mr. Parker Ayers, who destroyed what remained of the ancient church. In 1868 a Mr. Chignell obtained leave to use the refectory as a playroom for his school, and he was the first to suggest the formation of the company which eventually established Dover College. The refectory was restored by Mr. Tavernor Perry, almost entirely at Mr. Chignell's expense. The king's chamber was converted into a chapel, and Sir Richard Dickeson restored, at his own cost, the old gateway. This is now used as the college library, and will serve to perpetuate the memory of the really excellent collection of books which existed in the days of the old Benedictine monks.

[*Arch. Cant.*, iv., 1; xx., 295; *Brit. Arch. Ass. Journ.*, xl., 52; *State Papers*, Dom. Series; Lyon; *Pat. and Close Rolls.*]

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THE SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF THE HOSPITAL OR MAISON-DIEU AT DOVER.



From an engraving by S. and N. Buck, 1735.

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The Hospital of St. Mary, or the Maison Dieu.

This ancient foundation was first established by Hubert de Burgo towards the end of King John's reign, and the buildings first erected were probably little more than one substantial hall with a kitchen attached. A few rooms intended for the use of the master and the brethren were possibly also a part of the original design. It was at first intended for the accommodation of pilgrims going and coming from the continent, and supplied them with free board and lodging for a short period—generally believed to be fourteen days. In course of time soldiers returning from abroad destitute or wounded were admitted, and a certain number of pensioners were also permanently attached to the hospital for maintenance. That the Domus Dei supplied an urgent want is beyond question, for the constant flow of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury alone must have placed a severe strain upon the resources of St. Martin and St. Mary Newark, which was the only other place which could afford free shelter and protection to these numerous devotees.

The references to this foundation in the reign of Henry III. and his immediate successors are numerous; six charters are still to be found in the Record Office granted to the Master and Brethren by Henry III. The earliest notice we have been able to find is dated 23rd July, 1222, and is a grant, by letter patent, of the church of Sellinge to the master and brethren of the Domus Dei at Dover for the "support of the poor". Three years later the right of free transport along the coast was granted to them for "necessaries".

Before the year 1227 a chapel was added to the

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hospital by the king, and portions of it remain to the present day. Mr. Burges, who carried out the designs of Ambrose Poynter for the beautiful restoration of the hall, which was made between 1852 and 1862, in speaking of the chapel, says: "This is one of the few remains that have come down to our own time; but inasmuch as every square inch of its surface has been covered with stucco during a so-called restoration at the beginning of the present century, the architectural antiquary is not likely to be particularly edified by the study of its details; a beautiful stone cross on the gable being the only part which has escaped the vandalism of the restorer. As we now see it, the chapel consists of a very short nave divided from a chancel by an arch; but it is by no means improbable that this short nave may be the easternmost part of the hall of Hubert de Burgo, while, as far as it is possible to judge by the stucco mouldings and the features of the architecture, there is nothing whatever to militate against the chancel having been erected in the middle of the thirteenth century. As to the rest of de Burgo's hall, it has been entirely destroyed, and the site is occupied by a series of jail yards."

The king was present at the dedication of the chapel, and granted a charter confirming a gift of de Burgo's for the support of the hospital. As this charter is in the muniment chest of the corporation we will quote it at length:—

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou, etc. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to God and the Hospital of Dover, which our well-beloved and faithful Hubert de Burgo, Earl of Kent, Justiciar of England, founded in honour of God and the blessed Mary, the gift

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which this same Earl made the aforesaid Hospital of the manor of Eastbridge with the advowson of the Church and with all their appurtenances, for the support of the poor strangers coming thither: saving to the same Earl and his heirs the Knight's fees, etc., as of the same manor. Wherefore we will and firmly command that the master and brethren of the aforesaid hospital have and hold the aforesaid manor with all its appurtenances, except the knight's fee which to the aforesaid manor pertains, peaceably, freely, and quietly, with all the liberties and customs to the same manor belonging; as by the charter which the aforesaid Earl heretofore caused to be made to the aforesaid hospital will more fully appear." The charter is dated 11th July, 1227, and we may presume that to be the date of the dedication of the chapel. In the same year the land of Withefelde, Gatton and Disniges were granted to the hospital, and a tithe of the king's share of the issues of the passage at Dover by a third charter.

In 1229 an important charter was issued, which ran as follows: "Know ye that we, in reverence of God, and for the health of our soul, and the souls of our ancestors and heirs, have granted to the Master of the Hospital of the Domus Dei of Dover and the brethren of the same Hospital, that they and their men and lands and tenements be for ever freed from suit of shires, hundreds, leets, and law-days, from aids of sheriffs and their bailiffs, from view of frank-pledge, from ward, works, or fences, of castles, parks and bridges, from passage, pontage, stallage, tallage, lestage, pannage, and wreck of sea". In 1331 they received the grant of the church of St. John of Wardon, and the next year a right to receive £10 at Michaelmas and Easter every year from the issues of the port of Dover. In 1247 the manor of Honichild in

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Romney was granted by royal charter, so that the fall of de Burgo had not alienated the affection of the king from this charitable foundation. Several other grants might be mentioned, among them one as late as 1484, when they received in "frank-almoigne Denne, Monketon and Archer's Court in River, lately possessed by George Brown, Knight, rebel". At the suppression of the house by Henry VIII. their income was returned at £231 16s. 7d.

An additional hall was added on the south side of the original building, probably during the reign of Edward I. Communication was made by piercing the party-wall with several large and beautiful arches, and a clerestory was added. Another hall existed on the northern side of de Burgo's building, and the communication was made in a similar manner by piercing arches. It may be supposed that it was built at the same time as the south hall, but no description or print of it has come down to us, and it is not possible to speak with any certainty on this point. The tower at the south-west corner of the building was in all probability erected as a principal entrance, and still remains as an example of the architecture of the period. Several remains of the vaulting of the vestibule are preserved in the Dover Museum.

In the year 1236 the Pope, Gregory IX., gave to the Master and Brethren a certificate of his protection, and confirmed them in the possession of their endowments and privileges.

The disastrous civil war during the reign of Henry III. must have affected the income and utility of the hospital, and we find that, as soon as order was re-established, they received a sum of £32 due to them for their tithe of the passage at Dover. The constant demand upon their hospitality seems to have strained their financial capabilities to the utmost, and in 1328

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the collectors of the "twelfth" in the county of Kent were directed to remit the contribution due from the brethren of the Domus Dei on the ground that they were "so poor".

Edward III., almost immediately after his accession, ordered the Warden of the Cinque Ports to pay to the Master fifty shillings annually from the issues of the port of Dover; and £10 at Michaelmas and £10 at Easter every year, in accordance with the charter of Henry III., which the king had inspected. This annual payment of fifty shillings was granted in the year 1324 by Edward II. "for the maintenance of a Chaplain to celebrate Divine Service in the Hospital for the soul of Raymund de Burgo". Richard II. on his accession inspected and confirmed the charters granted them on 14th May, 1283; 5th February, 1333; 22nd April and 20th August, 1339; 2nd May, 1345, and 16th October, 1348; which offers plentiful evidence as to the assistance rendered by the hospital to pilgrims and distressed soldiers during the reign of the Edwards. Edward IV. also confirmed their privileges in the year 1464.

The following extract from the Patent Rolls of Edward III. is an example of the pensioner system already referred to. "Richard Waytewell is sent to the Maison Dieu of Dover, for his good services rendered to Queen Isabella, for maintenance for nothing, for life. They to state, under their common seal, exactly what he ought to receive." That this was nothing unusual may be gathered from another extract, three years later, when John Monins is sent for similar maintenance *vice* John Lambe deceased.

Henry suppressed the hospital in 1536, and the commissioners reported in their return that the church possessed 537½ ounces including a censer of silver, gilt; two

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cruets of silver, gilt; a cross plated with silver, gilt; and a chalice, "well doubled gilt". Mr. Lyon asserts that they were taken away by "Robert Nethersole of Dover, without any authority, neither was it publicly known how he disposed of them". The lands belonging to the Maison Dieu were taken into the king's hands, and were sold by order of Parliament in 1650. The land and buildings were probably rented by various persons until the year 1552, when it was appropriated as a victualling office for the navy.

From the inventory made on 23rd January, 1535, we find that the house consisted of the chapel; vestry; "Hoostrye," or great chamber; a little chamber within the "Hoostrye"; a chamber "over the water"; "Sir Peers' chamber"; the master's chamber; and a kitchen. There were also two stables, a fermery, a garner, a brewhouse, a bakehouse, and several barns. The cattle belonging to the master and brethren consisted of 1600 sheep, 119 "bullocks and kyne," nineteen mares and colts, and fourteen geldings and horses.

On 16th November of the same year the annual value of the Maison Dieu was certified to be £166 8s. 3¼d., and the following "pensions and proxies," or charges upon the revenue, were catalogued.

Sustentation of the poor was estimated to cost £40 a year. On the Feast of St. Pancras, for the soul of Hubert de Burgo, one quarter of wheat and one ox, if a flesh day, or two barrels of fish, if a fish day, were purchased and given to the inmates and poor. On the Festival of the Annunciation a similar feast was given for Henry III., and on St. Edmund's Day double the amount was provided, also in memory of Henry III. Margaret, daughter of Hubert de Burgo, was commemorated on St. Luke's Day in the same way as her father. The cost of these

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gifts was calculated at £2 13s. 4d. for each festival, and, of course, double on St. Edmund's Day. On each of the above days "as much drink as will sustain the recipients of the alms, £4". On the "5th ide of March" a dinner was given to five poor people at a cost of tenpence, and a second dinner was provided on the same day for fifteen poor people, "for the soul of John Mawlyng," at a cost of two shillings and sixpence. On the 16 kalend of April fifteen poor were fed for two shillings and sixpence, "for the soul of Beatrix Salkyn". The master was bound to distribute daily two messes of bread, meat, and drink to two honest poor persons. He was also bound to provide for two lamps burning in the chapel, and in the church of St. Martin, and to pay £6 a year to a priest for "our Lady's Church" in Dover.

Masters of the Maison Dieu.

1231. John, Vicar of Tenham.
1248. Michael de Kenebaston.
1271. Edmund . . .
1281. Thomas . . .
1305. Henry de Harefield.
1316. John de Dover.
1338. Walter de Rydelyngweld.
1359. Simon de Brusale.
1368. Alexander Wayte.
1378. Valentine de Bere.
1407. Roger Kympton.
1420. James Brandrede.
14—. John Wellys.
1446. Thomas Moys.
1453. John Willis.
1467. John Barbourés.
1478. William Baker.
1485. John Clerk.
1509. John Crafford.
1534. John Clerk.
1535. John Thompson.

It should be noted that in several instances the writ, sanctioning the appointment of a master by the king, is addressed to the "Master, Brethren and *Sisters* of the Hospital of S. Mary at Dover".

It is not impossible that "Bekyn" or Biggin Gate may have been so named from its propinquity to the dwelling place of these Sisters or *Béguines*.

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In 1655 a petition was presented to the Council of State by Heariot Husbands, Thomas Babington, Thomas French and Thomas Kidder, "trustees" of Lord Howard's regiment, who stated that they had recently bought a house and ground in Dover worth £160 10s. a year, and that they had paid for it in full. It had been conveyed to them by indenture enrolled in Chancery, but the Victualling Yard authorities would not surrender it. They confess that it had been appointed in the fifth year of the reign of Edward VI. as a victualling office, but it had not been so used for thirty years past. A detail of the survey is annexed to the petition, from which it appears that the Maison Dieu was the house and land in question. The case was eventually tried at Maidstone and was decided against the petitioners. Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the premises were let to Thomas Bloome, a malster, for £60 a year, the outbuildings being converted into various tenements. It appears to have been reconverted into a brewhouse and bakehouse for the navy after the Restoration, and used as a victualling yard again until the year 1830, when it was purchased by the Board of Ordnance for use as a depôt and office for the engineer services. In 1834 the whole of the premises were put up to auction and were purchased by the corporation of Dover. About two years later a series of vaulted brick cells were erected on the floor of the south hall, and the place was used as the town jail for forty-two years.

About 1850 Mr. Poynter was instructed to draw plans for a restoration of the hall, and during the years 1852-1862 his designs were carried out, chiefly under the direction of his successor, Mr. W. Burges. The windows in this hall have been filled with stained glass representing various great personages and episodes in the history of

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the town. The cost was defrayed by different citizens, and are reproductions of designs made by Sir E. J. Poynter, president of the Royal Academy, and son of the architect.

In 1882-3 the Connaught Hall was added by the corporation, and was opened by T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. There are several stained glass windows containing representations of several of the Constables of Dover Castle.

The council chamber was built in 1868, the windows containing pictures of those sovereigns who are reputed to have visited the ancient Maison Dieu.

There are twenty-seven oil paintings in the hall and council chamber, two being of exceptional interest. A half-length portrait of Queen Elizabeth purchased for twenty-five shillings by the corporation in the year 1598, and a portrait of Queen Anne, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, presented to the corporation in 1713 by Captain John Ball.

[*Arch. Journal*, xl., 1; *Arch. Cant.*, x., cxxxiv.; *Pat. and Close Rolls; Charters Henry III.; The Maison Dieu at Dover*, by W. Burges; *State Papers*, Dom. Series; Burrows, *Cinque Ports;* Knocker, *Dover Corporation Insignia, Seals, etc.;* Lyon, *Dover.*]

St. Mary the Virgin.

The original building was erected in Saxon times, and was one of the three religious edifices constructed by the secular canons of St. Martin-le-Grand. A date as early as King Alfred has been claimed for it, but on very insufficient grounds, and it is probable that it was not built until a considerably later period. At the excellent restoration in 1843-44, at the instance of the then Vicar Canon Puckle, a most careful examination of the entire fabric was made by Mr. J. C. Buckler, consulting architect

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to St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. As a result of this examination it was found that the foundations of the western end had been laid on the remains of a Roman bath, traces of which were also discovered when the Carlton Club was erected on the west side of the Market Square. It was also possible to point out, with some degree of certainty, the original size and shape of the Saxon church. From a glance at the west front of the tower it will be seen that it naturally divides itself into five sections, and it would appear that the three upper sections are of a later date than the lower two. Between these two divisions there is no similarity of workmanship or of material, and the three upper stages seem to have been simply erected upon the lower building, without any attempt at binding or holding them together. The nave appears to have terminated at the two massive piers, now used as columns, but which primarily formed the ends of the north and south walls. Adjoining the foundations of these piers "the traces of a wall-return indicated where the primitive little fabric had probably ended with a small eastern apse". A "low and shallow lean-to," on the north and south sides, forming unimposing aisles, completed the building as erected in Saxon days. The unusual curve of the tower arch, which somewhat resembles the Byzantine form, is one of the signs of the early date of the work; and the same curve is traceable, only in a lesser degree, in the six westernmost arches in the nave.

In Norman days an addition was made to the length of the church eastward by adding four arches on each side. Two only of these survive, those adjoining the original Saxon piers. The other six were removed at the end of the eighteenth century by an order in vestry, on the ground that their removal was necessary for the sight

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and hearing of the congregation. To the Norman period the three upper stages of the tower may also be assigned.

During the reign of the Angevin kings another addition was made to the building. "It is marked by two fine four-centred arches which still remain, opening into the east end of the north aisle. An altogether new aisle was built on the north side which extended down the whole length of the nave from the west wall of the tower to the east end of the chancel."

An ancient font of Purbeck marble (covered with the "paint of ages") was found, broken in two, built into the west wall of the south lean-to at the base of the tower. It may, with some degree of probability, be assigned to the Norman period.

Various additions were made to the building during succeeding centuries, and it underwent, during the course of time, considerable internal modification. After the suppression of the religious houses it gradually fell into a state of neglect and decay, and at the restoration in 1843 it was found necessary to entirely reconstruct it from the foundations. This reconstruction was carried out on the most satisfactory lines, the stones of the old arches and columns were taken down and numbered, and replaced in their original positions. The greater part of the tower, however, remained untouched. This has been carefully restored in the present decade by Mr. Thompson of Peterborough; and the peal of eight bells refitted. These bells were made in 1724 by Samuel Knight, with the exception of number six which was cast in 1725. On number five, "Fear God all ye that ring" is engraved, and on number seven, "Honour the King". The names of John Dill and Thomas Joyner, wardens, appear on the 1725 bell, and of Stephen Hammond and James Perche, also wardens, on number eight.

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The control of the church was taken from the canons of St. Martin-le-Grand at the conquest, and William Fitz-Ageri, according to Lyon, was authorised by the Bishop of Bayeux to hold it. "In the reign of Henry II. the Abbot of Pontinex had the appropriation, and it was then valued at £5 6s. 8d." In the reign of John it came, or was taken, into the king's hand, and by him, presumably, given to the master and brethren of the Maison Dieu, for there is evidence to prove that they were bound to provide a priest to say mass in it for ever. The last master of the Maison Dieu, John Thompson, returned its value as £6 annually.

The commissioners sent by the king on the suppression of the priory and Maison Dieu neglected to close it, but the king himself ordered it to be sealed up when he visited Dover in the following year.

Some of the inhabitants petitioned the king for permission to use it as a parish church, and this was accorded them.

Mr. Lyon quotes the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1537, and we reproduce the items :—

	s.	d.
For meat and drink, at setting up the Paschal at Easter		4
At striking the Paschal taper, for the procession for the angels, the font taper, and for the Judas candle	2	0
For 7lb. of wax for the tapers	3	6
For 2 priests helping to shrine at Easter	2	0
For 2 persons watching the sepulchre	1	4
For the great mass priest, deacon, sub-deacon and porter, each 2d.		8
For bread and drink for the priest, clerk, and ringers		6
For an iron placed before the sacrament	5	4
For putting it up, and taking it down	1	0
For grace, obiit, vespers, wax, dirge masses, and offering peace, according to custom	4	2
The clerk, for his dirge and grace		6

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The warden's accounts for 1550 show that they sold the greater part of the church property for £65 4s., and with the money thus raised they proceeded to destroy several altars and images, removed the stalls from the choir, and paid a London painter to write Scripture sentences upon the walls. The receipts for this year include the following items:—

	£	s.	d.
108 oz. of silver sold	31	18	4
Vestments of the priest (one suit of blue velvet, excepting the cope; one suit of black velvet, and one of crimson) sold	19	5	0
Organ pipe metal, 52 lb.	1	2	0
Chalice, weighing 52 oz., sold to Mr. Foxley, paid in part	2	6	4
Lattice metal and old glass		5	
Timber		1	8
An old vestment		6	8
Old lead	1	0	0

Several vestments remained unsold, and were valued at £8 9s. 7d.

From numerous wills, which may be found at Canterbury, it would appear that several chapels and shrines existed in the church; and the sale of lattice metal, glass, timber and old lead points to the fact that they were destroyed by the churchwardens at this period. No remains of them were to be found in 1843, and they must, therefore, have been removed for some considerable time. The chapels mentioned in the wills referred to were St. Katherine, St. Michael, Trinity, Our Saviour, and St. Erasmus.

In 1585 the mayor was first elected in the chancel, but from the will of Edmund Moody, Bailiff of Dover, which was proved on 1st October, 1552, it is clear that the corporation had already occupied the chancel with their seats. He left instructions for his body to be

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buried in the chancel of St. Mary's, "where ye aldermen sit".

Two efforts were made to pass a bill in Parliament to prohibit the election of the mayor being held in the church, but they were unsuccessful, and the custom continued until the present century. The corporation seats, which were ranged around the chancel, the mayor's seat occupying the place usually filled by the altar, remained in that position until modern times. An action was commenced in the Consistory Court at Canterbury against the corporation in 1683 by the churchwardens; but, although they succeeded in obtaining an order in their favour, the corporation were finally victorious by throwing the cost of all future litigations upon the parishioners. "Might is right" is a saying that was amply justified in this case. In 1805 further litigation was commenced, which ended in no conclusive result from a want of funds to carry the case through the various courts. Mr. Lyon gives a full account of this interesting matter, and as he was living at the time, writes with an accurate knowledge of the subject.

The gift of the church by Henry VIII. to the parishioners left the choice of the perpetual curate in their hands, as well as the necessity of providing his stipend, and until quite recently they exercised this right. The patronage is now vested in three trustees, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and the income is raised by pew rents. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considerable difficulty was experienced in providing the very moderate stipend paid to the ministers. In 1551 "Sir" Hane Caine was appointed "Preacher of Our Lady's Church" at a salary of twenty marks and the Easter oblations. He resigned his appointment the

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same year, as he was unable to obtain the promised income. Two rich copes were pawned to pay what was due to him when he left. A complete list of the clergy who have filled the office of incumbent, with many interesting particulars, will be found in the Rev. John Lyon's *History of Dover*, vol. i., p. 106, and we regret that the limits of this book prevent a more extended notice of this ancient and interesting church.

[*Arch. Cant.*, xx., 19; Lyon; Streatfield MSS., B.M.]

St. James the Apostle.

This ancient church, restored during the latter half of the present century, was erected in Norman times, but by whom or at what date is unknown. It originally consisted of a chancel and nave, the present west entrance being a "facsimile of the original". Above this door were three plain Norman windows, and the church seems to have been entirely lit with similar openings. The rose window in the west wall was an innovation introduced by the architect, Mr. Talbot Bury, in the present century, on the ground that similar windows were not uncommon in Norman churches in this part of Kent. We somewhat regret that what was otherwise a "pure restoration" should have been marred by this addition.

The church was added to by the erection of a building on its south side, probably during the reign of Edward I. or Edward II., intended for use as a court house. To join this hall with the nave a considerable portion of the south wall was taken away and two arches built; at the restoration in 1869 these two arches, which had been converted into one, were restored. This hall was adorned with three arched recesses at its east end, the central and largest containing a daïs and the walls being covered with

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fresco painting. The full size of this court house cannot now be given, for so many "alterations and improvements" were made in the church during the seventeenth century that the original structure was practically destroyed.

The hall was used for the judicial sittings of the "Court of Chancery and Admiralty of the Cinque Ports," and, excepting a short period before the Commonwealth, was the invariable place of meeting until its jurisdiction ceased. The Court of Lodemanage also met there.

A will, proved in 1485, speaks of the image of St. James and the altar of St. Nicholas as being in the church. Elizabeth Waad in 1583 bequeathed "half a sheet to the high altar, and a kercher to cover the chalice; also her best coverlet, to be laid before the altar for poor child-wyfys; and a tablecloth of drap to make two towels, one for Saint James, and the other for the cross".

In the seventeenth century this church is spoken of as "St. James of Warden Down," and Kilburne, in his survey of Kent, says "the church anciently belonged to the Castle". As this has been copied into several books, and many persons believe it, it is necessary to explain the reasons which gave rise to this mistake. The hall annexed to the church was used for the Wardens' Chancery and Admiralty Court, and, as the building was situated on a rise in the ground, it received the name of Warden-down. When the Castle Church fell into ruin the officers of the Castle had seats assigned to them in it, and it may have been owing to that circumstance that the idea arose that the church originally belonged to the Castle. The troops also were paraded there for divine service on the Sundays. The patronage of St. James's has always been in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and with very few exceptions the appoint-

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ments have been made by the occupier of that see. The king presented a few of the rectors owing to the vacancies in the archbishopric; and during the primacy of Thomas Bourchier the prior and canons of St. Martin appointed three clerics consecutively, but the reason is not stated (1454-1486). This seems to prove conclusively that at no period of its history has St. James belonged to the Castle.

Whilst St. James's was used as the Garrison Church, one of the beautiful sets of Communion plate belonging to St. Mary-in-the-Castle was handed over to the wardens for safe keeping. It was returned on the restoration and re-opening of the Castle Church in 1862.

In 1800 several armorial bearings were to be seen in St. James's, chiefly belonging to prominent Dover families, and a full description of them will be found in Lyon's *Dover*.

The new parish church of St. James's was built in the Maison Dieu Road in 1863.

[*Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xi., 394; Lyon.]

St. Peter.

Although every vestige of this church has long ago disappeared, a short notice of it is necessary. It is quite impossible to give any particulars of its appearance, but it is reputed to have been built by the canons of St. Martin-le-Grand, and as the living was in the hands of the prior and canons from 1279 to 1525 this may be true. In earlier days the archbishop appears to have had the patronage, for in 1232 the king presented Ernaldus de Berkele, "Sede Cant. vacante". The archbishops claimed complete control over St. Martin's at that time, which will account for their having the patronage in their hands.

It was used from a very early period by the barons

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of Dover as the place in which they elected their mayor; the first election recorded took place in 1367 and the last in 1581. The absence of documentary evidence prevents us assigning an earlier date of its use for such a purpose, but it is more than probable that the habit was an ancient one already in 1367. The Curfew bell would also seem to have been rung there, although the "great bell" was hung in St. Martin's. About 1580 Elizabeth granted the church to the mayor and jurats to be sold, the profit arising therefrom to be spent on the repair of the harbour. In May, 1584, they received a letter from the Council directing them to "order Mr. Thomas Allyn (mayor in 1579-80) to render an account of the revenues of St. Peter's Church, which had been granted to the town to defray the repair of Dover haven". In March of the same year Allyn had refused to account for "the money received from the sale of lands" belonging to St. Peter's, and, on pressure being brought to bear upon him, he secretly left the town. We have discovered no entry in the accounts which enable us to believe that the barons ever received the proceeds of this sale. In 1579 a sum of £20 is noted as being received from Allyn for "lead which was sold of St. Peter's Church," and it is added that "it is to be paid back again when it is demanded". The church, which stood on the north side of the Market Place, was gradually demolished and its site covered with houses. The old Antwerp Inn used to occupy the precise spot where for many generations this ancient place of worship once stood.

From various wills proved at Canterbury we gather that there were chapels and images dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas, Mary Magdalen, St. Roque, St. Michael, St. Tronyan and St. Trophimus.

[*State Papers*, add. MSS.; Lyon.]

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St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

"About the year 1152" a hospital for lepers was built outside the town by the Prior of St. Martin-le-Grand. In 1373 two of the monks compiled from documents in the possession of the prior a manuscript which contained the laws for the government of the house, and a list of its lands and other sources of income. From this ancient authority, which exists in the Bodleian Library, Mr. Lyon was enabled to give an interesting account of the society as it existed in the fourteenth century. As the hospital was outside the jurisdiction of the Castle or the mayor and jurats of Dover it hardly comes within the scope of this work, and it is only mentioned to explain the dedication of a modern church to St. Bartholomew. The foundation was always a poor one, and was suppressed, with the priory of St. Martin Newark in 1535.

Arcliffe Chapel.

A small chapel formerly stood close to Arcliffe Fort, and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary as Our Lady of Pity. It was probably an ancient building in the sixteenth century, for it was restored in 1530 by Joachim de Vaux, French Ambassador to England. It is said that a happy escape from death by shipwreck prompted his benevolence. It was a small place, and over the door was a stone with the arms of England and France impaled, and on another stone a rose and a crown with the date 1530 upon it. In 1535 the chapel was served by a friar named John de Ponte, who applied to Cromwell to be appointed master of the Maison Dieu on the death of Clarke in January. Later in the year "certain naughty persons" razed out the French king's arms over the chapel, and it is certain that de Ponte was extremely unpopular in the town. He and de Vaux both wrote to Cromwell complaining of the mayor's action in

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trying to turn him out of his chapel, and it would appear that a valuation of its contents was made with a view to its suppression. The leading persons in Dover had found certain rich pickings at the suppression of the priory, and were probably willing to appropriate some of the valuables in the French chapel. The letters were not without effect, for de Ponte remained in possession. Another effort to depose him was made by John Thompson, who during the friar's absence broke into the chapel and reported to Cromwell that he found the Pope's name before the king's in the mass book. De Ponte was imprisoned by the mayor in 1538 on a charge of communicating with the French during the war by keeping lights burning in his chapel during the night, and, with the exception of a bitter complaint sent by him to the Government, we hear no more of him henceforward. The harbour works eventually undermined the place, and the chapel either fell into ruins, or was carried away by a storm. The chapel is also spoken of as "Our Lady of the Rock," and donations to it are recorded by Elizabeth of York and Henry VIII., the latter giving "ivs. viijd." on his landing in Dover in 1532. Lyon says it became the residence of a fisherman until 1576, when, with several other buildings near, it was destroyed by a tempestuous sea.

[*State Papers*, Dom. Series; Lyon; Seymour, *Survey of Kent.*]

Knight Templars' Church.

The foundations of an ancient building were discovered on the western heights in 1806. Further investigation proved them to be the remains of a church. The nave, which was circular, was twenty-seven feet in diameter, the walls being four feet thick. An oblong chancel was attached twenty-five feet in length, and fourteen feet wide

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at the west end, but only thirteen feet at the east end. The building was Norman in design, and Caen stone was used in its construction.

The date on King John's surrender of the kingdom to the Legate Pandulph is as follows: "*Teste meipso apud domum Militum Templi juxta Dovoram, xv. die Mai, anno regni nostri decimo quarto*". It is impossible not to believe that this was the place where the king knelt before the Pope's legate and did homage for his kingdom, England and Ireland. It has been maintained that *juxta* could not mean "in" Dover, but as late as the seventeenth century the Bredinstone was spoken of as being a mile south of the town.

[*Arch. Cant.*, xi., 45.]

A Wayside Chapel.

The remains of a very interesting thirteenth century chapel are still to be seen hemmed in by the shops in Biggin Street and Priory Road. It is a small building some twenty-eight feet in length by fourteen broad. The walls, which are fairly intact, are built of rubble masonry two feet thick, with Caen stone quoins and dressings. The west doorway is plain pointed with roll mouldings. The north and south walls are pierced by two lancet windows each, widely splayed, and a moulded string course ran round the interior below their sills. The roof was of a good pitch, and had tie-beams, collars and struts. The chapel is now entirely given up to trade purposes and is difficult of access. We conjecture that it was erected by the canons of St. Martin's and St. Mary's Priory, and was used as a wayside chapel, although it is not impossible that it may be the remains of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's Chapel.

[*Journal Arch. Assoc.*, xl.]

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CHAPTER XI.

THE PHAROS—ST. MARY-IN-THE-CASTLE.

The Pharos.

THE Roman tower standing on the Castle heights was, undoubtedly, only one of two erected at the same time. In the beginning of the century the foundations of the second were discovered on the western heights whilst excavations were being made for the Drop Redoubt. Above these foundations stood for a long period a puzzling lump of masonry called locally the "Ara Cæsaris" or Bredinstone, near which the Lord Wardens were on several occasions sworn in. The origin of the term "Bredinstone" has been a considerable difficulty, and the only suggestion we can offer is, that, as in appearance it resembled the ordinary "pudding stone," which in some parts of England is called "Breeding" stone from the idea that it multiplied itself, the origin of the title may most probably be thus accounted for. What could be seen of these foundations showed that they were entirely similar to those of the Pharos in the Castle, composed as they were of green sandstone, Kentish rag, tufa and Roman brick, cemented together with typical salmon-coloured Roman mortar. Mr. Hambrook of Dover and the Cambridge Museum possess the only Roman tiles taken whole out of these foundations, and

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THE PHAROS, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

From a photograph by Mr. H. Gibson.

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both are stamped with the following Roman letters, CL BR, an evident abbreviation of *CLassis BRitannica*. The origin of the "Fleet for England" must undoubtedly be attributed to the days of Claudius, who assembled the fleet which carried Aulus Plautius with his legions to England at Gessoriacum. Caligula had already erected there a Pharos, "*qui pendant* 1600 *ans servit à diriger la navigation du détroit*". The fact that the part the fleet took in the subjugation of Britain was considered of great importance is testified to by a medal struck to commemorate the triumph of Claudius, on which Neptune, armed with a trident, and seated on a chariot shaped like a sea shell, and drawn by two tritons, appears surrounded by the word Britannia. Several Roman inscriptions are quoted by M. Vaillant, which prove that a "British Fleet" existed in the earliest days of the Roman occupation of this island, and it is only in accordance with common sense to imagine that the light towers at Dover were constructed by those serving in the fleet as soon as the legions had obtained a permanent footing in Britain. Rapidity of transit was at the first a matter of great importance, and nothing would more assist a continuous cross channel service of boats than beacons and land marks serviceable both at night and during the day. The tiles used in building these Phari were probably brought from abroad, as suggested on p. 226. We have no hesitation in ascribing the erection of these two towers to the days of Aulus Plautius, and in believing them to be the earliest permanent Roman work executed in this country. It is possible from the remaining Pharos to ascertain the original form of both. On the exterior they were octagonal, but square in the interior, each side measuring about fourteen feet. The thickness of the walls in the lower part being ten feet.

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The Castle Pharos was built upon a clay foundation, although the chalk rock would have made an excellent ground upon which to erect the fabric. It does not appear in any accounts of the Bredinstone that an examination was made of the actual foundation of that structure, and we are not, therefore, able to say whether the same plan was followed in its construction. To what height the Castle Pharos was originally carried it is now impossible to say, although in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* a picture is given which represents it as having five storeys. This is evidently, however, an entirely imaginary illustration, showing the tower as it *might* have appeared in its earliest form. The walls were raised first with seven courses of tufa, which were followed by two bonding courses of red tile brick, and this work was continued alternately to the top. The present height is about forty feet, but the uppermost part of the work is comparatively modern and not part of the original structure. The tiles used for the bonding courses are of different sizes, the mortar between the bonding courses is pink, but in the other courses white. Each side of the square interior is pierced with an opening on the ground and two upper floors. These openings are all arched with tile brick, and are still in good preservation. The building was joined to the church by a short passage; the cement foundations of the joining wall still remaining underground, and formed a part of the Roman fortress which for a considerable period dominated these heights. According to Lyon, who quotes Godwin's *Lives of the Bishops* and King on *Ancient Castles* as his authorities, Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, converted this tower into a place of defence by building up the openings on the ground floor. These openings were "contracted to a narrow slip, to which they ascended by a flight of

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steps made in the inside work in the wall. Both the materials and the workmanship in the alterations are very different from the Roman masonry." It would, therefore, appear that in 1800 the interior of the Pharos presented a different appearance to what it does at the present time.

The whole structure was repaired and cased with flint, according to Lyon, in "the year 1259, when Richard de Grey, of Codnore, was Constable of the Castle; and his arms, cut in a small square stone, were placed on the north side of the tower, and are still remaining there. A barry of six, argent and azure." Canon Puckle ascribes the octagon chamber at the top to Tudor days, when it may have been repaired. In the days of Edward I. and as late as Elizabeth the Pharos is spoken of as the Tower of Julius Cæsar. In the reign of Henry III., if not earlier, it was converted into a bell tower for the church, and the date given by Lyon (1259) for the flint casing is therefore probably right.

The following extract from the exchequer accounts (*Q.R. in the P.R.O.*) for Dover Castle for 1286 proves that bells were hanging in that year in the Pharos, and required repairing. It is not impossible that the Pharos was converted into a campanile when the repairs to the church were carried out by royal command in 1223.

In the week of the Festival of the Annunciation to the B.V. Mary.

Item, 2 lbs. of sea coal bought to make bands for the bells in the smaller bell tower, and for making bands for the big bells in the Tower of July Cæsar . . . . . iiijd.

In 1345-8 two new bells were cast and hung in the Pharos, and we transcribe the cost from the accounts above mentioned.

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For 4 boles of timber bought,—12d.

For 4 hoops for binding the spindle, bought,—4d.

For 7 quarters of charcoal bought,—3s. 6d.

For 4 quarters of charcoal bought,—2s. 4d.

For 4 trees bought for the furnace for the moulding of the bells,—6s. 8d.

For the carriage of the said trees,—8d.

For a half hundred of billets bought for the same, with the carriage from Dover to the Castle,—5d.

For 1000 billets bought, and bringing them on the ground,—5s. 5d.

Item, for 16½ lbs. of grease, bought for the same,—2s. 0¾d.

For fat bought for the same,—5½d.

Item, for eggs and ale bought for making the inscription round the bells,—3d.

Item, for wax and "code" bought for the same,—5½d.

Item, for carriage of the implements of the bell founders from Canterbury to the Castle,—18d.

Item, for 12 quarters of sea coal bought,—13s.

Item, for 4 cwt. of iron bought,—14s.

Item, for 174 lbs. of copper bought at Sandwich,—28s.

Item, for 50 lbs. of tin bought at Canterbury,—8s. 4d.

Item, for 10 lbs. of tin bought at Dover,—20d.

Item, for 250 "Tantorf" bought,—12d.

For a trunk bought for hanging the bells,—4s. 7d.

Item, for 12 Estrichbords bought for the same,—3s. 4d.

For carriage of the aforesaid from Canterbury to the Castle,—4d.

For sawing the aforesaid trunk,—4d.

For the wages of a smith and his boy making clappers and other appurtenances for three bells, during four weeks,—13s. 4d.

For the pay of a carpenter hanging the bells, during four weeks,—10s.

For two sawyers engaged for two days sawing timber for the bell wheels,—16d.

For grease bought for the bell yokes,—1d.

Item, for the expenses of the master of the workmen, and of the other workmen, and other helpers assisting on the day when they cast the metal for the bells, namely for bread, 2s., for ale, 6s., also for meat, 2s. 4d,

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PHAROS AND CHURCH OF ST. MARY-IN-THE-CASTLE.

From a photograph by Mr. H. Gibson.

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Item, for 3 new bawdricks bought for the two large bells and the small one,—19d.

Item, for the pay of the master of the bell-workmen,—£9 2s. 2d., he receiving ½d. per lb., viz., for 3266 lbs. for the great bell; also for 1078 lbs. for the lesser bell. Also for 52 lbs. for the four "poles".

Total,—£15 18s. 5½d.

In 1630 the Master of the Ordnance received a warrant commanding him to deliver "two brazen sakers" to the Lieutenant of Dover Castle to be converted into bells. The small bell now hanging in the vestry, dated 1639, may be one of those cast from these cannons. Royal orders were not obeyed with much rapidity at that time.

The Pharos served as a bell tower until the desecration of the church in 1780, when, according to the usual belief, the bells were transferred by a Government order to Portsmouth. Local tradition says this order was never carried out, and the bells were placed in the church tower of St. Margaret-at-Cliffe. This gave rise to a popular saying that "Portsmouth bells can be heard at St. Margaret's". The bells were probably melted down and used for other purposes.

The present condition of this ancient structure is pitiable in the extreme. Roofless, and disfigured with a patchwork of cobble and flint, it is a perpetual witness of a parsimony which allows the most ancient building in England to be destroyed because it has no further military or naval value.

St. Mary-in-the-Castle.

This ancient church is certainly one of the most interesting buildings standing in England, and has greatly exercised the minds of succeeding generations of antiquaries. The date of its first erection has been variously ascribed to periods ranging from early Roman times to

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the end of the eleventh century. In the middle ages it was commonly spoken of as "King Lucius his Church," but no credence can be attached to a theory so evidently founded on monkish fables. Different writers on the subject have ascribed it to "a late Roman date," "the middle of the fourth century," "the days of Godwin," or to "the latest Saxon period". The question, then, as to when this church was first erected is one evidently bristling with difficulties, and we propose, therefore, before attempting to answer it, to lay before our readers all the *facts* connected with the subject that have been discovered.

The church having been in ruins for a considerable number of years, Sir Gilbert Scott was commissioned to restore it in 1860. As the foundations were then laid bare, a considerable amount of information was obtained which could not otherwise have been gained. An account of his work was published by Sir G. Scott in a paper written for the *Archæologia Cantiana* in 1862, and his own observations were supplemented by "Memoranda by Mr. Marshall, Clerk of the Works". Canon Puckle, who had received permission from the then Secretary of State for War to do so, made an independent examination of the building during the progress of the work, and published, in 1864, the results of his labours in a book entitled *The Church and Fortress of Dover Castle.* From a careful study of these authorities we gather the following mass of reliable information.

1. The *foundations* were laid upon a "uniform and excellent bottom, formed of very stiff clay with a large proportion of flints intermixed". It is worthy of note that the adjoining Pharos is built upon a similar foundation, and that an excellent chalk bed was obtainable had it been desired.

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2. The *foundations* are "fairly laid, on a great breadth, and evenly built up," and "appear nothing like what they would have been in Eadbald's day, a mass of blocks and rubble roughly jammed and grouted together". They are built in "something like courses," stones of considerable size are worked in, and flat stones are used as bonds. "Rising to the set off, we find that useful member shaped and made as by well-experienced hands, and even a particular kind of stone selected, and worked in so as to diminish by a strong bevel to the next thickness of the wall."

3. *The foundations of the tower are continuous*, "all round the base of the tower the masonry is as broadly and completely laid *as if the tower had been first built for a square donjon*, and openings had been made" for the four arches where they were subsequently pierced.

4. The *green sandstone* used in the foundation is exactly similar to the green sandstone used as bonds, with the red tiles, in the Pharos, which is universally admitted to be a Roman work.

5. The materials used in the building are: (*a*) Tufa, "in the older parts of the work". (*b*) Caen stone. (*c*) Kentish rag. (*d*) Flints. (*e*) Green sandstone. (*f*) Oolite, in the lofty south doorway; the doorway at west end of the north transept; north-east corner of chancel, and "nearly through all the foundations". (*g*) Red tile-brick, "in great profusion".

It is necessary to draw particular attention to the use of the coarse oolite in the building because it is not known as a building material in any adjacent part of Kent, and was seldom used by any early builders in the district. It is freely used in all parts of the church, and in large blocks, it is skilfully worked, and the "good mason-craft with which the joints were fitted" is unlike

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that of other old ecclesiastical remains. Mr. Marshall says, "on the north side of Canterbury Cathedral have recently been set up two stone columns with caps and bases complete, brought from the ancient Church of Reculver, of undoubted Roman origin; on examining the stone of which they were made (oolite), I find it exactly corresponds with that in the old church here and at St. Mildred's; indeed I should have little doubt but it all came from the same quarry". Canon Puckle examined a fragment of a column found in a compartment of a Roman building, excavated beneath the foundation of the Saxon church at Lyminge, and found it was made of the same kind of oolite.

6. *The doorways, windows, and east and west arches* supporting the tower "all possess characteristics distinctively Saxon," according to Sir Gilbert Scott. Canon Puckle says of the south door, "it is made of the large blocks of oolite, and these blocks still show how well they must have been once worked and fitted, for they are so close and exact at the joints as almost to resemble the ancient masonry which was set without the use of cement in the joining at all. Nothing could be less like Anglo-Saxon building." "They have been worked and set in a way that shows a strong degree of relationship to remains of Roman masonry." Of the original windows, *i.e.*, those anterior to the early English, he says: "their aspect is very much of a northern Roman cast. In colour and form they remind one of the few remaining windows in the relics of the Roman Baths at Trèves; though in actual size they compare better with the windows of the Porta Nigra at the gate of the same town." Any one who has visited both Trèves and Dover Castle will admit the justice of this remark, as well as appreciate the contrast he draws between the size of the usual openings in

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the walls of our oldest English churches, which are very small, and the remarkable height and width (7·2 × 3·8) of the windows of St. Mary-in-the-Castle. Sir Gilbert Scott seems to consider the outward and inward splay of the windows as conclusive proof of their Saxon origin, but Canon Puckle suggests that they are of a class which supplied a form which "Saxon builders copied in after days". Several of the windows it should be noted, instead of being arched are square, and are covered over by oak lintels, which assume the splay, both within and without, with the rest of the window.

Sir Gilbert Scott says of the beautiful arches in the east and west faces of the tower, that they are "formed in the manner which is so frequent in, and so characteristic of, Saxon work. Canon Puckle's remarks on the same subject are: "the proportion of these arches, and their scale of erection, strikes one forcibly with what is generally seen of such features in Anglo-Saxon buildings. In the few authentic examples we have remaining one can seldom trace any Saxon mason's comprehension of the true idea of an arch in its bare principle." "Their lofty pitch and span suggest an able design, . . . their form, with the place and character of the moulding at the springing, approaches more to the classical type than to anything else." Sir Gilbert Scott says that the imposts of these arches are "singularly moulded".

7. The *original floor* was excavated under the tower, and consisted of (1) a layer of black ashes; (2) a layer of finely powdered burnt clay; (3) a layer of loose concrete with some beach and small chalk intermixed, some earth and old dry rubbish and flints,—all this was very loose; (4) a layer of not very compact concrete; (5) a pavement of blocks of hewn chalk averaging nine inches square and six inches thick, firmly bedded and jointed in coarse mortar,

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8. The *walls* are quoined in some places with Kentish rag and other stones and bonded on the "long and short" principle peculiar to Saxon work, and in others with red tile-bricks, which Sir G. Scott calls "Roman," and Canon Puckle "different and inferior" to Roman. They are built from the foundation of flints and stones, the red bricks being, however, freely used. The bricks are used as bonding courses, and the class of work is horizontal not vertical.

"Masses of stone are used in their construction, very different from those found in Anglo-Saxon buildings, reaching even as much as to thirteen cubic feet in size. Also the rubble work is laid in comparatively close and regular courses, and the joints are fitted with a closeness and precision not unworthy of Roman masons' skill."

9. The *roof* originally had a flat ceiling, according to Sir Gilbert Scott; and a gallery was probably erected at the western end of the nave.

Omitting all matters of mere opinion from the above, we are able to place the following items of information down as facts, testified to by actual eye-witnesses.

1. The foundations are broadly and evenly laid on a specially prepared basement. They are built in horizontal lines, with bonding courses, the set-off being finished with a worked bevelled stone.

2. A peculiar kind of coarse oolite is freely used, traces of a similar stone having been found only in buildings of the Roman period.

3. Large blocks of stone are used in the construction of the walls, which are built in layers with *bonding courses of red tile bricks. The rubble work is laid in close and regular courses.*

4. The masonry is well worked and very closely fitted.

5. The arches are lofty, bold and true; and their

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imposts of worked stone of a "peculiar" and "classical" pattern.

6. The windows are large and Roman in design.

7. The foundations of the tower are continuous under the arches, as if they had been originally solid and the arches pierced at a later date.

These characteristics of the building are indisputable, they are testified to by men of irreproachable integrity who stated what they had seen under circumstances so favourable that they could not be mistaken. The curious thing is that Sir G. Scott should have arrived at one conclusion and Canon Puckle at another. The reason, however, is obvious; Sir Gilbert based his opinion on the evidence afforded by those parts of the building liable to change, Canon Puckle on those which were unable to undergo much alteration. We believe that the greater part of this interesting structure was erected in Roman days and under Roman supervision, if not by Roman workmen. Any unbiassed critic who accepts the above facts cannot but acknowledge that they point to a date anterior to the Saxon rule in Britain. The style of Saxon work is altogether different, and inferior in every respect. Having stated that, in our opinion, the original building was Roman, it is necessary to see whether any further evidence can be adduced which will in any way support this theory.

In July, 1892, the late Mr. Loftus Brock, secretary of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, gave a lecture on the Castle Church, in which he said that having studied Kentish buildings for eight years he felt able "to grapple with the difficult task of throwing fresh light on the subject". The pith of his lecture may be summed up in the following extracts: "The fabric must have been erected by good builders, for

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although the walls are thin for their height and width, and there is not a single buttress of any kind, no settlement or sign of weakness or failure is observable, notwithstanding that the church was a ruin exposed to the elements for so many years. As a sign of the soundness of construction, I may add that the walls of the tower arches are no thicker than the ordinary side walls of the nave, yet they support the tower without sign of weakness. . . . There is a special feature which has hitherto been singularly overlooked, and if our knowledge to-day does not admit of its determining the question, it is destined to do so hereafter. The architect who designed these arches (east and west towers) made his piers of a certain width, sufficient in his judgment for the load they had to carry. He sprang the arches from carefully moulded imposts, these, the only portion of ornamental work remaining, are before you. The south-west portion is original, the north-west is a copy. Both sides of the eastern arch are original. Each arch has a different pattern, and if we cannot tell with precision what people laid the masonry, we ought to be able, and we shall in time be able, to say who worked the mouldings. They are neatly and truly formed, and that they were worked for the position they occupy does not admit of the shadow of a doubt. They are mitred at each angle, those for each arch being worked in two stones. Those of the west arch being perfectly smooth, as if they had been rubbed after being worked. Those of the east arch do not present this peculiarity. I have examined and measured these mouldings; I have done my best to compare them with others, and the conclusion I have come to is that they are of *late Roman date*. In view of the importance of this statement in relation to existing controversy, it is but right I should explain the process

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by which I have arrived at it. Firstly, I saw the mouldings were more truly worked than in any Saxon building, where indeed original mouldings are uncommon features, and unlike what occur here. Secondly, I saw a distinct resemblance not only to Roman mouldings, but to the mode of working practised by the Romans." Mr. Brock also stated that in his opinion the wide double splayed windows, especially those with the wooden lintels, and the south door were insertions of a later date. During his examination of the imposts he discovered a peculiar chiselled mark, consisting of two thin parallel straight lines, cut into the top of the stone of the south-west impost, and further examination proves that similar marks exist on each of the original imposts in these arches. Whether they may be rightly called Roman masons' marks is a question which we do not pretend to have settled. Professor Wright speaks of Roman masons' marks as if they were a well-recognised feature of their work, and gives illustrations of "four of the most common" on the wall of Hadrian. The marks on these imposts are very similar, saving that the lines are parallel and not crossed. One thing is evident, they were not intended as directions to the workmen for placing the stones, as an inspection will show.

We have here the opinion of an expert who agrees with Canon Puckle in placing the date of building to late Roman days, and his opinion is based on entirely different reasons. We assume, therefore, that the foundations of the tower and nave, the greater part of the walls, the east and west arches in the tower, and, as will be seen later on, the opening in the west wall of the tower above the arch, and the lower opening in the west wall of the nave, are Roman, and it remains to fix an approximate date for their erection.

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To help us in arriving at a just conclusion we have several pieces of constructive evidence. Camden, in his *Britannia*, speaks of a board hanging in Dover Castle on which was an inscription stating that the Castle was the work of Julius Cæsar. This, of course, proves nothing beyond the fact that a strong tradition existed in those days to the effect that the Romans had built a fortress on the Castle heights. The Rev. W. Darell, whose MS. is well known to all students of Dover history, states that Julius Cæsar built "a prætorium, or edifice, for the residence and accommodation of the chief commander of the forces, resembling those fortifications that were in use among the Romans". The value of this statement has been lessened by his having ascribed the work to Julius Cæsar. Here again we have evidence of a strong traditional belief that the Romans had erected some kind of fortress on the eastern heights. Neither can it be denied that every reason existed then, and still exists, to make men believe that Roman works were carried out on this commanding site. The Romans had five important stations on this part of the coast, Regulbium, Rutupiæ, Dubris, Lemanis and Anderida. In four of them undoubted Roman remains exist to the present day, whereas in Dover, which has been perpetually occupied as a defensible station, and where, therefore, we should expect to find some adapted remains of their work, all credit is denied to the only building which has any claim to be considered Roman in its design and workmanship. For our part we unhesitatingly believe that the tower and nave of the present church were originally built by the Romans as a defensive post during the earlier period of the invasion of Claudius Cæsar. Our reasons for so believing are partly positive and partly circumstantial. The positive reasons have been given already, the strength

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and regularity of the work, the materials used, the remarkable accuracy of the mason's art displayed, the presence of tufa "in the older parts of the building," and the immense quantity of tile brick used in its construction are facts which cannot be denied, and which should satisfy any unprejudiced mind. That flat blocks of green sandstone should be used for bonding in the foundations of the church and in the Pharos as well as in the Roman building which previously stood on the western heights, is a small proof that they were all erected much about the same period. The cement used in the Pharos, both pink and white, is found in the church, and although Canon Puckle sees a difference, it is after all a difference which can be explained by a gap of a few years between the erection of the two buildings. It is necessary to remember the absolute difference which existed between Roman and Saxon mortar. According to Vicat, "Roman mortars are composed, with few exceptions, of pure lime, mixed in large proportions with fragments of brick coarsely pounded". It is evident from this statement, as well as from general observation, that the "predominance of lime of the purest character is the distinctive feature of Roman work as opposed to Saxon work, in which sand is the predominant ingredient". The mortar used in the Pharos and church is characteristically Roman. Lime is the predominant material, mixed with powdered brick and rough grit. The ordinary idea that all Roman concrete must be pink is not correct, red and white concrete is used in the Pharos (*vide* page 212), and the rule seems to have been to use pink mortar with the tile-brick bonding courses, and white with stone building materials.

The tile bricks found in the Pharos seem to be of a better quality than many of those found in the church, and the explanation lies in the fact that the materials for

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building the former were imported from the continent, whereas the latter were made locally. In 1796 some workmen digging on the north side of the church came upon a place about four feet under the surface where either bricks or tiles had been burnt, and it seems highly probable that many of the tiles used in the church were made and baked there. The strongest positive proof we have to advance is the fact that the foundations of the tower are continuous; they were made originally to carry four solid walls, and we may take it as certain that in the first place they did so. Sir Gilbert Scott and all recent archæologists have either overlooked or ignored this significant fact testified to by Canon Puckle and Mr. Marshall. That the walls of the tower were first erected solid, and without arches, will be strenuously denied by certain *fin-de-siècle* architects we are fully aware; but we prefer to trust the opinion of eye-witnesses, who had ample opportunities of examining these foundations, than the statements, however frequent and forcible, of those who having conceived an idea will credit nothing likely to disprove it. If the tower were built with four solid walls it is evident that it was not at first designed and built for a church, and we are forced back upon the conclusion that a tower so commanding and so strongly built must have been intended for use as a means of defence. Is this conclusion impossible, or contrary to what might have been expected from a study of history? Let us see. In A.D. 43 Aulus Plautius landed in Britain, and commenced at once to reduce the various tribes to an actual state of subserviency to Rome. In A.D. 47 he was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, and in A.D. 58 by Suetonius Paulinus. The method adopted by all these generals was the same, when they had reduced a certain amount of territory they held it securely by building

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fortified posts, and thus advancing to further conquests, which they secured in a similar manner. If the important ports on the south-east coast were made safe, and we cannot believe otherwise, is it possible to think that Dover was neglected? From its nearness alone to the continent it must have been, from the first, a place of great importance, and there is the evidence of the earth redoubt still existing to show that it was held and fortified. Constant communications were necessary with the continent, and the suggestion that the towers on the east and west heights were erected as signal stations is well within the bounds of possibility. They were probably built very early in the occupation of Aulus Plautius, with material chiefly brought from abroad. Several years elapsed before the whole of the south-east districts of England were reduced to a state of quiescent obedience to Rome, and we may believe that important building works were not commenced until this had been done. It is to the days of Ostorius Scapula, Suetonius Paulinus and Julius Agricola then that we may assign with some probability the erection of more stable and permanent fortifications than earth redoubts and temporary shelters for the troops. It is to the first century, therefore, that we assign the building of the prætorium in Dover Castle, and we shall proceed to show what evidence may be found in the present building to prove that at one time it was used as a Roman fortress. The Pharos occupied an important position in the earth work around it, and the remaining space available for building a more important edifice was somewhat limited. It was necessary to erect it in close juxtaposition to the older tower, and it naturally occurred to the builders that under these circumstances it would be wise to connect them in some way, so as to make the fortress as commodious as possible. This

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we find was actually carried out, and with very little hesitation we suggest that the fortress when first constructed consisted of the tower, nave and Pharos. From an examination of these buildings we find that an arched passage existed on the ground floor between the Pharos and nave, the remains of the arch are still clearly visible, whilst, beneath the surface of the ground, the solid concrete foundations for the connecting walls remain intact. Entrance to the tower was gained through a portal in the west face of the tower wall, remains of which opening were discovered by the clerk of the works during Sir G. Scott's restoration. It was therefore easy to pass through the entire length of the structure, from the Pharos to the tower, upon the ground floor. It is quite clear, from the existence of a second series of openings some sixteen feet above the ground level, that a first floor existed in the Pharos. It is remarkable that what Sir G. Scott very rightly describes as the "doorway" in the west wall of the nave corresponds exactly, so far as height and width and level above the ground are concerned, with the opposite opening in the Pharos. There is no doubt that a passage across the top of the arched approach beneath provided an easy means of communication between the two buildings at this point. Whether a gallery was placed in the nave, communicating through a door with the tower is uncertain, the present windows are said to be typically Saxon, although that is open to question, but even that would not prevent them having taken the place of smaller openings which could have been used for defensive purposes. We are inclined to think that this may have been the case, and that a through communication was also possible on this storey. Ascending again some sixteen feet in the Pharos another storey was reached, well defined by three windows on the north,

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west and south sides, as well as by another opening towards the church. The west wall of the nave is pierced at this point by two openings, with brick capitals, which seem to be of a later date, and probably superseded the original single opening. A floor or connecting gallery must have existed in the nave at this level, as we find a wide door pierced in the west wall of the tower, which was evidently meant to connect it with the nave and Pharos. No attempt has hitherto been made, so far as we know, to explain the presence of these various openings on the same level in the east and west walls of the nave and Pharos, they could not have been made for ornament, and were presumably made for use. To what use could they be put except their natural one as a means of egress and ingress? It will be remembered that Sir G. Scott speaks of them as doorways, they are unsplayed and the arch is sprung from an impost of tile bricks so arranged as to represent a worked stone capital. In one instance a stone impost, skilfully worked, is found. With regard to the openings in the north and south faces of the nave wall, Sir G. Scott says they are typically Saxon because the splay is equal inside and outside. He could have given very little attention to this point, for the actual measurements give the following results: depth of splay outside fifteen inches, depth of splay inside twenty-seven inches, that is the splay inside is practically double that of the outside, which absolutely refutes the statement of Sir G. Scott. We are not concerned to prove that these openings were the original ones, but we are entirely of opinion that Canon Puckle was correct when he assigned them to the end of the fourth century.

It has been claimed so far that the tower and nave of the church were erected as a Roman fortification, and joined to the Pharos towards the end of the first century.

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It remains, therefore, to settle at what period of history the original building was converted into a church. In considering this important question it will be first of all necessary to glance at the alterations required to divert it from its original purpose to a place of Christian worship. A chancel would be required, arches pierced in the east and west face of the tower walls to render the building one, the floor would have to be properly levelled, windows would be needed to give light, and a doorway on the ground level would be requisite. If we examine the chancel we find that the foundation and walls are very similar in construction to the older parts of the building. They are strongly and well built in horizontal lines, bonding courses of green sandstone and tile brick being freely used. The arches, as has been seen, are Roman in character, the imposts being of a type and work in no way Saxon. The windows are also Roman in design, built of Roman tile brick, and from their size, eight and a half by four feet, are entirely dissimilar to those of a later period. The lofty south doorway is constructed of large blocks of oolite beautifully worked and closely fitted; and, moreover, large quantities of this stone were used in the Roman baths in the town. The flooring was laid in a Roman style, with a skill and care not found in Saxon work. To this it may be added that the cement used in the walls possesses the chief characteristic of Roman mortar, lime is the matrix. We are inclined to believe that the transepts were added at the same time, from their general appearance and similarity of work. The door in the west corner of the north transept was also originally built with the coarse oolite referred to above. If this be so the north and south arches in the tower walls must have been pierced on less grand lines than the other two. It is a remarkable proof of the later

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addition of both chancel and transepts that they have evidently been *built on* to the tower, the walls are not bonded in, and from a photograph taken before Sir G. Scott's restoration it would almost appear that the north transept had fallen away on its western side from the tower. In spite of the desire of many antiquarians to deny the existence of Christian places of worship in Britain during the Roman occupation, we are compelled to place the date of the conversion of this fortress into a church somewhere during the fourth century. This is not the place to discuss the question as to whether Christian buildings were or were not erected by the Romans, we will content ourselves with quoting the following extract from Gardiner's *History of England:* "There is no doubt that there was a settled church established in the island. The Emperor Constantine acknowledged Christianity as the religion of the whole empire. The remains of a church of this period have recently been discovered at Silchester" (vol. i., p. 23).

We can sum up our opinion in a few words. The church of St. Mary-in-the-Castle was originally built as a Roman fortress, probably in the first century, and converted into a church during the last century of the Roman occupation of Britain. It remains, therefore, not only as a monument of the Roman workman's skill and thoroughness, but as the oldest building in Britain, still standing, which has been, and yet is, used for divine worship.

The history of the church remains in absolute obscurity for nearly two centuries during the Jutish and Saxon invasions. We can only believe that it suffered a similar fate to nearly all other Roman buildings in the south of England and was destroyed by fire or by neglect. When about 585 Æthelbert, King of Kent, brought back his Christian wife Bertha from the continent it was probably

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standing a gloomy and desecrated ruin, telling only of past civilisation and worship. The queen's influence, however, was soon to be felt, and it is remarkable that within a space of seventy years no fewer than eight important monasteries were founded by her family within a short distance of Dover. Among these was the Benedictine Monastery in Dover Castle before the year 640. The first mention of this monastery is found in the larger copy of the "Acts of the Council of Becanceld" which belong to the year 694. Leland quotes the following passage which he extracted from a chronicle of the monastery of Dover: "Of the King Eadbald the son of Ethelbert, who after baptism returned to his idols and exiled the bishops and priests, much may be found in the life of St. Mildred, and how he was recalled to the faith by St. Laurence, who enjoined him, for the remission of his sins, to dedicate churches as he had before destroyed them, and to cherish the clergy whom he had before persecuted. That he appointed an order of canons in the Castle can be clearly gathered from the fact that, according to ancient tradition, the canons resided in the Castle for a hundred years and more. Reckon how you will, that was the period which elapsed from the time of King Withræd, who transferred the canons to the Church of St. Martin in the town of Dover. And inasmuch as this king (Eadbald) reigned long after the penance imposed on him, it is sufficiently credible that among others he dedicated and endowed the Chapel in the Castle."

According to Bede, St. Augustine received permission from Æthelbert, immediately on his conversion, to "restore" and build churches, and it is by no means improbable that the tradition of his reconsecration of the building and its dedication to the Virgin Mary is founded

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on an actual fact. Whether this be so or not, the building bears considerable evidence of a Saxon restoration, or rather of Saxon restorations, and if they do not date back as early as St. Augustine, considerable improvements must have been effected early in the seventh century. As stated above, a collegiate body was established in the Castle before 640 A.D., and, although there is some difficulty about reconciling the statement that it was a body of secular canons with the known date of the first formation of such orders, we may take the evidence on this point as being conclusive. Darell states that the clergy were maintained by "the toll paid by the shipping".

The number of canons has been variously stated from six to twenty-two, and it was probably nearer the smaller than the larger number. About the year 725 Withred, thinking it unadvisable that a religious body should have its existence in a garrison pure and simple, removed them to the town, building for their use the church of St. Martin-le-Grand, securing to them all the privileges and franchises that they had enjoyed in the Castle. Traces of early Saxon work were found in the church at the restoration in 1860. Small blocks of Caen stone, "merely cleft and roughly squared up," without any kind of tool-mark upon them, were used as quoins, whilst the body stone, found to the west of the nave arch, and which is now exhibited in the church, evidently belongs to a very early Saxon period. This coffin lid is of Caen stone, and has been merely hewn and cleft into shape without any proper regard to accurate measurement. At a subsequent date during the Saxon ascendency the church underwent considerable alterations. A stone screen, remains of which were discovered by Sir Gilbert Scott, was erected before the western arch of the tower,

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and evidence of further internal decorations were found at the same time.

The history of the church during this and subsequent periods, until the reign of Henry III., is an absolute blank. It is not even known how the services were provided for. It has been supposed that the Prior of St. Martin's retained some kind of jurisdiction over it, but it is merely a supposition, without any documentary support. This may have been the arrangement until the appointment of a Constable of the Castle by William I., who thenceforward paid the chaplains, as he did the other officers, out of the emoluments of his Castle-guard tenure. The first recorded appointment of a rector to the parish of St. Mary-in-the-Castle is by king's writ in 1227, and the rectors were always so appointed for several centuries.

During the reign of Henry II., especially from 1180 to 1187, large sums of money were spent in the Castle on building the keep and other works. It is to this period we may with safety ascribe the first post-conquest additions to the church. Sir Gilbert Scott assigns to this period the change of the internal character of the chancel to the early pointed style by the addition of a vaulted roof, lancet windows, and an English sedile. The space under the tower was vaulted, and the north and south transept arches, as now seen, were inserted at the same time. The fine pointed doorway in the north side of the nave must also have been pierced at the same date. There is a great similarity between this work and the chapels in the keep, and it is a fair presumption that the same architect supervised both works. Sir G. Scott suggests that William the Englishman, who succeeded William of Sèns at Canterbury, may have been the architect employed.

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THE NAVE OF ST. MARY-IN-THE-CASTLE, SOUTH-EAST CORNER.

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In the Close Rolls of 7 Henry III. the following mandate is to be found: "The King to the Constable and those associated with him in charge of the works in Dover Castle, greeting. We order you to cause the Church of the Blessed Mary to be repaired forthwith." As a result of this order, the altar, double piscina, ambry, windows and sedilia in the south-east corner of the nave were inserted, and the two recesses built in the east walls of the transepts. These recesses were vaulted and groined and were used as ciboria for altars; a vaulted canopy extended over each into the transept. Near the altar in the north transept a slight recess, nine inches wide, was discovered in 1860, the back of which had been painted. No trace of this recess has been preserved; and, owing to an unfortunate oversight, the two large openings were walled in instead of being restored to their original state.

According to Lyon, John de Fenes "either found or placed three chaplains" in the church. Prior to the reign of Henry III. they resided in a tower near the church, called Coclico (*vide* p. 260); and by their regular routine of duty each chaplain was to rise at a fixed hour, in his turn, and sing matins privately before the long peal was rung for matins in the chapel. Hasted gives the following account of their duties, although he does not state the source of his information. One of the Coclico chaplains said mass for the soldiers at 9 A.M. at the altar in the nave; at 10 A.M. the lieutenant-marshal and petty officers had their service at the altar of relics, conducted by the second Coclico; and at noon the rector said mass at the high altar for the governor and his officials. It seems that in consideration of the fact that for a long period the services were provided by the secular canons of St. Martin, the chaplains in the Castle were allowed to

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wear the vestments and take the position of canons, and the following extract from Archbishop Peckham's Register (*f.* 36 *b.*) shows that the custom existed as late as 1287: "*Kal. Feb.*, 1287, *Hugo de Wenwgue, presb, adm. vic. ad p'sentacoem dni Egidii de Audenarde Canoici be Marie in Castro Dovr r'one sue de Pesemers spectante.*" It will be seen that as late as the days of Henry VIII. the Rector was a Prebendary, and there can be no doubt that he was regarded as a dignitary of the Church certainly until the days of the Reformation. To a clerical mind the question is an interesting one, but still requires further elucidation. Information of considerable interest is given in "The Statutes of Dover Castle," promulgated in the reign of Henry III., and set forth by Sir Stephen de Pencestre at the beginning of the next reign. In these statutes there are several which refer to the chaplains and their duties, and the reader is referred to page 274 where they are transcribed in full.

The "rector" and one Coclico chaplain seems to have been the regular establishment of clergy during the thirteenth and fourteenth and part of the fifteenth centuries. The appointment of "Thomas Wood, clerk," on 11th September, 1487, to "the Rectory or Chaplaincy of the Honour of the Chapel of St. Mary-in-the-Castle of Dover, County Kent," seems to point out that at that period the offices had been combined.

The following petition of "Maister Walter Grene" will be of interest. The king's signature is to be seen on the original document, and the "humble Oratoure beadman" duly received the appointment.

"Memorand qd quinto die Nouembr anno regni Regis Henrici octaui sexto decimo ista billa libata fuit dno Cancellario Angl apud Westm exequend."

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"To the Kynge oure souʳaigne lorde.

"Humbly besechith youre highnes yoʳ humble Oratoure beadman and subgiett Maister Walter Grene Clerk of youre haboundaunt grace to gyve and g[raun]t vnto hym yoʳ ffre chapell or prebende within yoʳ castell of Dovore nowe being voide & in youre gracious gyfte by the resignacion of Thomas Hall Clerk oon̄ of the Ministers of yoʳ honorable Chapell. And that this bille signed with youre most gracious hande may be sufficient Waraunt vnto yoʳ Chauncelloʳ of Englonde for yoʳ gracious l̄res patentes vnder yoʳ great Seall to hym thereof in due and effectuall foʳme to be made And he shall daily pray vnto God for the p̄sperous pʳs'uacion of yoʳ most noble and roiall estate."

[S.B., 16th Nov., Hen. VIII.]

In October, 1256, Richard de Wengham was appointed by the king "Rector of the Church of St. Mary in our Castle of Dover". In 1364 Richard Benet was appointed by king's writ, in which he is designated "*persona* (rector) *ecclesiæ parochialis infra castrum nostrum Dovorr'*," and his yearly stipend of six marcs was augmented to fifteen. In 1425 Simon Spencer is spoken of as "*Rector ecclesiæ infra castrum Dovorr'*". In 1519 Thomas Hall was given "*liberam capellam sive prebendam infra cast' nr' Dovore, modo post mortem ultimi incumbentᵉ*".

In the accounts of Thomas Hextall, receiver of the Duke of Buckingham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1450-59, the following items occur, "to the Rector of the Parish Church within the Castle 78s. 11d., to the Chaplain called Coklico, £6 13s. 4d." (Hist. MSS. Com.; Lord Stafford's

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MSS.). Several appointments to the "*Capellania Castri nostri Dovore*" are to be found in the Patent Rolls, and a full list will be found at the end of this chapter.

It will be seen, therefore, that from a very early date this church is spoken of as a parish church, and there can be no doubt that the Castle precincts were regarded as a separate parish, and the church as a royal free "Prebend". The clergy were king's officers appointed at first by the sovereign himself, later by the Constable, the king confirming the appointment, and later still, after the Restoration, by the Lord Warden alone. They were paid by the Constable of the Castle out of the sum allowed him for the expenses of his office, and we cannot find any trace of the tithe payable to the rector referred to by Canon Puckle and Mr. Lyon. Since 1861 the War Office has stationed a commissioned officer of the Army Chaplains' Department in the Castle, and has thus revived the ancient offices of the "Cocklico" chaplain, and rector of the free chapel and prebend.

In the Accounts of the Exchequer for 1286-7 we find that repairs were made to the bells in the smaller bell tower as well as to the big bells in the tower of "July Cæsar". Where the smaller bell tower was we cannot now say, it was probably attached to the roof of the church and contained two small bells for use during mass. The bells in the Pharos were also two in number, as will be seen from the following extract from the same accounts for the years 1345-48: "*To cords for* 2 *small bells*, *s*1. 4½. *For a cord bought for lamp*, 1*d*." This was in all probability the perpetual light suspended before the altar. "*For four ells of canvas for window with nails for same*, 10½*d*. *For one small box* (*in uno cilice*) *for placing over the high altar in Castle Church*, 6*d*. *For mending one gradual*, 8*d*. *For two maniples* (*manutergium*) *for use*

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in the Church, 12*d*. *For two new cords bought for the big bells*, *s*2. 2. *For one pair of cruets for the same*, 3*d*. *For one towel for church*, 5*d*. *Paid to Sir Thomas, Keeper of the Castle Records, for washing and mending Church vestments*, *s*1. 3*d*."

Sir Robert Assheton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who died in January, 1385, presented one great bell to the church and was buried there, before the high altar. His tombstone was discovered in 1776, when it was seen that it had been ornamented with a large brass. The inscription on it was: "*Hic jacet Robertus Asheton, Miles, quondam Constabularius Cast. Dovoriæ, et Custos Quinque Portuum: qui obiit novo die Januar. Millessimo CCC Octogesimo Quinto; Cujus animo propitietur Deus. Amen.*"

Sir Richard Malmains, who had been his lieutenant in the Castle, was also buried near the high altar. In 1614 the Earl of Northampton was buried in the south transept, and Nicholas Stone, a famous sculptor, received £500 for putting up his tomb. Towards the end of the last century a stone with the following inscription was still affixed to the wall of this transept:—

MEMORANDUM. In this place was buried the body of Henry, Earl of Northampton, Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, A.D. 1614; and in this place stood likewise a monument, in memory of the said Earl; whose body and monument, by reason of the ruinous situation of this chapel, were removed to the hospital of East Greenwich, in Kent, of the foundation of the said Earl, at the Charge of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, governors of the said hospital, with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, and of Henry, the Earl of Romney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle.

William Copledik, Lieutenant of the Castle in the reign of Henry VIII., was buried on the north side of the

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church and had a fine monument erected to his memory. William Crispe, another Lieutenant of the Castle, was also buried in the church in 1576.

When the church was restored in 1860 a large number of graves were found; and the whole of the ground surrounding the building is full of human remains, but we have no records which enable us to identify any of them.

There is evidence to prove that the church was kept in good repair until the reign of Elizabeth, in whose reign the last restoration was probably made. A considerable amount of damage must have been done to the internal decorations during the Commonwealth, and the decay of the building may be said to have begun at that period. In the views of the Castle published by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck in 1739 the church may be seen as a roofless ruin. When it ceased to be used for divine service we have no means of ascertaining, but the date of its wilful desecration was 1780. In November, 1779, one of the Royal Engineer officers of the garrison, Lieutenant Page, placed in his estimated expenditure for the following year the following item:—

"*Converting the old church into a cooperage and storehouse, in order that the keep may be given up for the use of the troops*—£700".

In 1794 arrangements were made for accommodating more men by fitting up a "room at present occupied as a barrack store, formerly made use of as a chapel". In 1808 this ancient place of worship was deliberately converted into a garrison coal store, and it thus remained a desecrated ruin until the restoration in 1860. In 1862 the church was reopened for divine service by the Bishop of Sierra Leone, in virtue of a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1890 the reredos, the third lancet window in the chancel and the mosaics were

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added by Mr. Butterfield, at the expense of Mr. H. M. Gibbs, of Berrow Court, Somersetshire, to whom also the church is indebted for the lectern, the Baskerville Bible, the altar rails, and the whole of the decoration of the interior. The vestry was added at the same time.

Very little that was valuable survived the ruin of the building, a small bell dated 1639, with the initials I. C. upon it, may be seen in the vestry, as well as a coffin lid of an early date, but without any inscription. Two very beautiful sets of communion plate were saved, one by being handed over to the care of the clergy and churchwardens of St. James's, which was returned by them in 1862, the other set was probably kept in the barrack stores. The communion sets consist of a chalice and paten each, and each piece has a very clear hall mark upon it. The dates of these marks are 1632 and 1639. The larger set is beautifully engraved with the coat of arms of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who was Constable from 1628 to 1640.

This is the history of what we believe to be the oldest building used for divine worship in the United Kingdom. It has passed through many vicissitudes and many degradations, yet still remains "an ensign set on an hill," a perpetual memorial of the truth and stability of Christianity. Romans, Jutes, Saxons, Danes, Normans have all in turn held sway in Dover since this church was built, they and their power have all passed away, one monument alone has survived them, and that is this witness of the everlasting kingdom of Christ.

Rectors of the "Free Chapel and Prebend" of St. Mary-in-the-Castle.

1226. Richard de Wokindon.
1256. Richard de Wengham.
1287. Egidius de Audenarde.

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134–. Thomas . . .
1364. Richard Benet.
1393. William Werkyng.
1413. John Appleton.
1417. Simon Spencer.
1487. Thomas Woode.
1519. Thomas Hall.
1524. Walter Grene.
15—. William Coupuldik.
. . . .
1626. — Griffen.
. . . .
1753. John Minet, Vicar of Eythorne, 1723.
1765. Thomas Edwards.
1775. John Drake Hollingbery, D.D., Vicar of Coldred and Shepherdswell, 1762-1771.
1795. Richard Kilshaw.
18—. Thomas de Lannoy.
1813. Thomas Busby.
1819. Charles Dayman, Curate of St. James's, 1819 to 1830.
1830. (Vacant. The troops attended St. James's Church.)
1861. Thomas Coney, Chaplain to the Forces.
1866. A. H. Hore, ,, ,,
1867. H. N. Wheeler, ,, ,,
1871. J. E. Sabin, ,, ,,
1874. E. J. Rogers, ,, ,,
1876. J. C. Edghill, ,, ,,
1878. C. A. Wetherall, ,, ,,
1882. H. Tudor-Craig, ,, ,,
1887. G. Meade, ,, ,,
1890. F. Sadleir, ,, ,,
1896. S. P. H. Statham, ,, ,,

Coclico Chaplains.

12–. Walter le Prestre.
1270. Simon Fitz-John.
12—. Thomas Fitz-Roger de Dover.
1302. Robert Fitz-John de Sutton.
1308. John Mareis.
1328. John de Alkham.
1345. William de Lychesfeld.

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1377. William Dray.
1394. Bartholomew Guypton.
1400. David Bagatour.
1405. Richard Burgoyne.

[Sir Gilbert Scott, *Arch. Cant.*, v.; *Church and Fortress of Dover Castle*, Canon Puckle; MSS. Notes of a Lecture by Loftus Brock; *Monasteries of Kent, Arch. Cant.*, iii.; Lyon's *Dover; Pat. Rolls*, etc.; Lane's *Early Church History;* Leland; Dugdale's *Monasticon;* Hasted's *Kent; Cartularium Saxonicum*, W. de Gray Birch; Gen. Akers, *Prof. Pap. R. E.*, xii.; *History of Dover Castle*, W. Darell; *Exchequer Acc. P. R. O.*]

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CHAPTER XII.

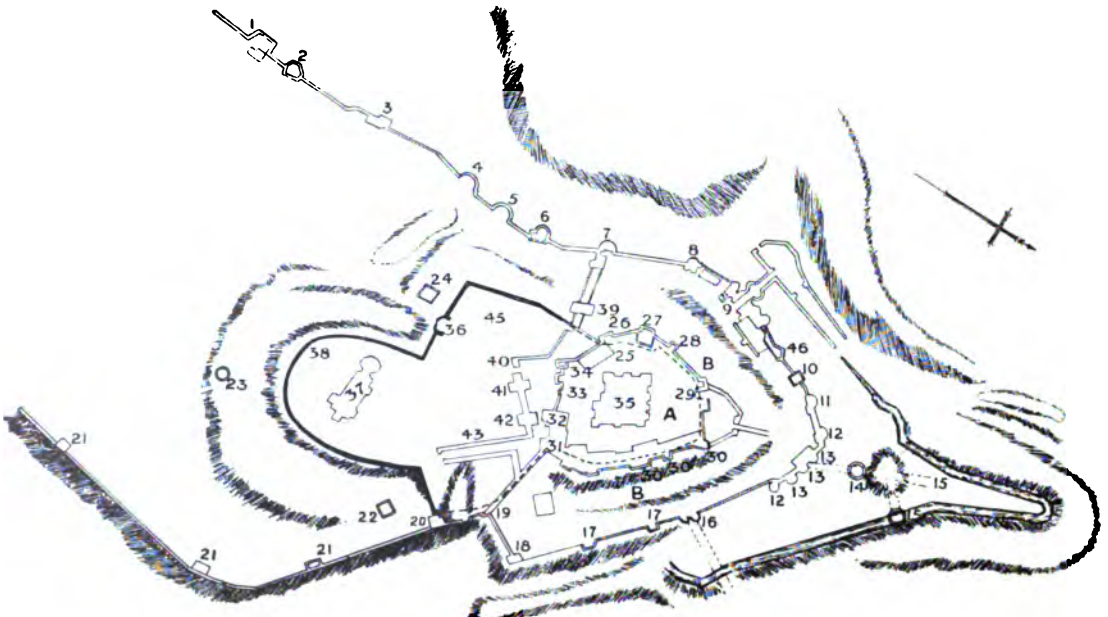
THE CASTLE.

THE use and fortification of the eastern heights as a defensive position may be said to date from the beginning of the Christian era. It is possible that in the days prior to the landing of Julius Cæsar, and between his second invasion and the coming of Aulus Plautius, the Britons may have occupied them with an earthwork, but if so all trace of it has been destroyed. The earthwork which surrounded the church and Pharos was of the ordinary Roman type, a parallelogram with the corners rounded off. This Roman fortress has been described in Chapter xi., and no further details need be given here.

The amount of information obtainable concerning the Castle during the Saxon and subsequent occupations is extremely limited. It is chiefly derived from the knowledge that we have of the Saxon methods of defence, and the remains of their masonry which were still existing at the end of the eighteenth century. From a reference to the plan it will be seen that the Saxon fortifications consisted of an outer and inner defence, which in a general way resemble those of Old Sarum. There is also a strong likeness to the Saxon burh at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire. Mr. Lyon gives the following account of it. He quotes no authorities, but we may believe that it is correct in all essentials. The greater part of the masonry

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GROUND PLAN OF DOVER CASTLE



EXPLANATION.

Saxon work. | Site of supposed Saxon works. | Norman and early English work.

Scale $\frac{1}{1200}$, or 13·2 inches to the mile.

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may be ascribed to the later days of the Saxon ascendency.

"The Keep, or interior part (A), was even with the edge of the perpendicular ditch (B), and it was raised eighteen or twenty feet above the vallum which surrounded it. The Keep was formed of chalk dug out of the interior ditch, and the vallum was levelled with what was cast out of the exterior one. The original entrance into the Saxon fortifications was on the south-west side of the Roman fosse (36); and on the exterior bank, which was reduced to a narrow path by a deep recess dug in the side of the rock where the ascent of the hill was the most difficult. The first Saxon works consisted of deep ditches with perpendicular sides to secure this keep on the hill; and they left to their timid successors to call in the aid of the mason to make their fortress more impregnable. When the hardy warriors of the north first endeavoured to secure this fortress they paid but little attention to the accommodation which men afterwards thought indispensably necessary to make the life of a soldier more comfortable. The sodded hut or cave in the side of the rock, to shelter them from the winter storms, were deemed sufficient by our Saxon ancestors. One of their excavations was discovered in the year 1800, under Roman work. It was about nine feet high, as many wide, and fifty from the entrance to the end."

As the importance of Dover increased the importance of defending it with a suitable fortification would become more evident, and we find that by the time of the Norman Conquest the ancient earthwork had developed into a strongly built castle. The fact of William I. having made his rapid advance upon Dover immediately after Senlac testifies to the value he placed upon its possession.

The plan gives some idea of the changes that had

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taken place, the chain line representing the position of the later Saxon defensive works. It will be seen that the north-west end of the Roman earthwork had been removed, and the remainder lined with a stone wall (38), which was returned at both ends. Several Saxon buildings are said to have existed, and are numbered 20, 36, 37, 41, 42 and 43. Many of these works are ascribed to Earl Godwin, especially the sally-port (20), of which Lyon says "after the Norman Conquest apartments were built over the passage to the sally-port for the king's wardrobes, and for lodgings for his suit, when he came to the Castle; but time has long since crumbled the building into ruins, and the souterrain below received the rubbish, and obstructed the passage, and the gate was closed up. The arch in the wall leading to the souterrain is still remaining (1813) and may be seen on the outside; but within all traces of the old works are buried, and the connecting parts of Roman and Saxon plans entirely destroyed."

Whatever may have been the actual state of the fortifications in the days of Godwin and Harold there is no doubt whatever that considerable Saxon works existed, and to the present day small remains of their masonry may still be found.

After the conquest the defences on these heights assumed a new aspect, and building operations were continually carried on until the Castle attained the proportions described in the plan, which should be compared with that given on page 132.

Odo of Bayeux was in charge of the Castle during the greater part of the reign of William I., and he and his successors must have done something to bring the Castle up to the then standard of defensive works. Nothing distinctive of that period now remains. So far as can

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be ascertained no work of great importance was undertaken until the reign of Henry II.

The exactions and rapacity of Odo—it is said that he procured 184 lordships in Kent alone—at length incited the inhabitants of the county to rise in rebellion against him. They invited the old enemy of Dover, the Earl of Boulogne, to assist them, and endeavoured to take the Castle by a *coup de main*. Their plans, however, seem to have been discovered, and the attack was frustrated by a sally of the Castle guard, who, taking the rebels by surprise, routed them with considerable slaughter.

On the disgrace of Odo the king determined to provide for the defence of the Castle on the feudal system. This system, not unknown in England before the conquest, was based on the theory that the whole land belonged to the king. A paid standing army was impracticable, so the king bartered his land in exchange for bodily service with horse and sword. "The warrior who served on horseback was called a knight, and when a knight received land from a lord on military service he was called the vassal of his lord. When he became a vassal he knelt, and, placing his hands between those of his lord, swore to be his man. This act was called doing homage. The land which he received as sufficient to maintain him was called a knight's fee. After this homage the vassal was bound to serve his lord in arms, this service being the rent payable for his land. Sometimes the knights held their fees directly from the king, and did homage to him. These knights were known as tenants in chief (*in capite*) however small their estate might be. Usually, however, the tenants in chief were large landowners to whom the king had granted vast estates, and these when they did homage engaged not merely to fight for him in person, but to bring some

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hundreds of knights with them. To enable them to do this they had to give out portions of their land to sub-tenants, each engaging to bring himself and a specified number of knights. There might thus be a regular chain of sub-tenants. A engaging to serve under B, B under C, C under D, and so on till the tenant in chief was reached, who engaged to bring them all to serve the king." William I. selected John de Fenes (Fiennes), a relation of his own, as the knight to whom he confided the guard of the Castle, and to support him in maintaining the defence of it he assigned fifty-six and a half knights' fees. The office was made an hereditary one, and was held by several of John de Fenes' descendants. Associated with the Constable were eight other knights who received several manors each to support the cost of their particular service, and their names are still connected with the Castle, many of the towers being called after them. These eight knights were :—

William de Albrincis (Averanche), Lord of Folkestone, who held twenty-one knights' fees. Among them Folkestone, Alkham, Clopton and Cheriton. He had to provide twenty-one knights for the defence of the Castle, three of whom were to be in residence at one time for a period of one month. In other words, he had to provide three knights per month for seven months in each year.

Fobert de Dover, Lord of Chilham, who received fifteen fees, of which Chilham and Hougham were two. He provided three knights per month for five months in the year.

William de Arsick, who was Lord of Leybourne and Boxley, received eighteen fees, for which he found three knights for six months in each year.

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William Piperell (Peverell), Lord of Wrensted, received fourteen fees, two of which were in Gatton, and he provided three knights per month for five months.

William de Mamignot, Lord of Greenwich, received twenty-four fees, including Cocklescumbe and Waldershare. He provided three knights per month for eight months in the year.

Robert de Porth, Lord of Betteshanger, received twelve fees, which included Poppleshall, Betteshanger, and Barfristone. He provided three knights for four months.

William de Crevequer, Lord of Leeds, received five fees, and found one knight per month for five months. Amongst his manors were Badlesmere and Woodnesborough.

Adam Fitz-William, Lord of Graveney, received six fees. Especial services were required from him, as for the fee of Hartanger he had to provide one knight for fifteen days before Christmas, and fifteen days before the Nativity of St. John. For the fee of Gravenel he found the same, whilst for the fee of La Done (Lydden) he provided one knight for fifteen days before Easter. This probably balanced the one fee lacking from William de Piperell. For the rest of his fees he found one knight for three months.

The result of this arrangement was that five knights with their men at arms were in the Castle every month, and if we add to these the Constable's service we find that the garrison would consist of about ten knights with their followers. The total number of fees thus devoted to the defence of the Castle were 171½, and in a book entitled a *Feodary of Kent*, written by an officer

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of the Exchequer in the time of Henry VIII., they are described as all being held by John de Fenes as tenant *in capite*. At that time, however, "the history of the tenures had become a vague tradition," and it seems certain that the associated knights held their fees as tenants in chief. A large number of these fees were taken from the Bishop of Bayeux when he fell into disgrace. One instance will do to illustrate this. Fobert de Dover is entered in the Domesday Book as holding Chilham of Odo, and, as we have seen, it was later on granted to him by the king on castle-guard tenure.

Some time during the reign of the Norman kings, three, and probably more, towers were erected outside the original lines of defence. Those that there were known to exist are marked 22, 23, 24. The tower numbered 22 was called Clinton, perhaps after Geoffrey de Clinton, Chamberlain and Treasurer to Henry I. and Chief Justiciar of England. It was destroyed much earlier than the others, and its position was only discovered in 1794 by the workmen who were engaged in the construction of a new road. The tower marked 23, commonly called Valence, ascribed by Lyon to William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, half brother of Henry III., must have been built at a much earlier date. In all probability it was erected in the time of Henry I. The bill of works for converting it into a windmill in the days of Stephen de Pencestre may yet be found in the Record Office. It was destroyed during the war with America by the Ordnance Board under the plea of economy, but the "material never paid the expense of pulling it down". Mortimer's Tower (24), or Valloy's Tower, was built about the same time to defend the entry into the Colton Gate, and was connected by a souterrain with the old gate in the wall next to Colton Tower,

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The foundations were sunk several feet in the solid rock, and were still to be seen in the beginning of the century.

The defences of the Castle practically remained unchanged until the reign of Henry of Anjou, when, as will be seen, very important changes were made in the character of the defences.

During the troubled reigns of Stephen and Matilda at least one siege was sustained by its defenders, but beyond the mere statement of the fact there is nothing more to be said.

In the Chronicles of Benedict of Peterborough it is stated that *turris fortissimus* was built at Dover Castle during the year 1187, this of course refers to the Keep, and from the entries in the Pipe Rolls we find ample evidence in support of this statement. During the years 1168 to 1176 a sum of over £400 was spent in preliminary works, and a notice of the fact that stone was brought by sea from Gravesend occurs in the entries. It is also recorded that William de Buisson and Rohesia de Dover received £3 6s. 8d. for their houses which were taken to make "bretesc.," or wooden defensible erections, for the ramparts. The main part of the work was done during the last years of the reign, and we quote the full amounts paid to those in charge of the building operations carried on at that time.

1182.	£507	10	0.	Spent on the "turris" and castle.
1183.	483	10	0.	Spent on the castle.
1184.	292	17	0.	Spent on the turris.
1185.	1248	18	4.	Spent on the turris.
1186.	962	0	0.	Spent on the turris and "cingulum".
1187.	681	2	0.	Spent on the turris and castle.
1188.	188	0	4.	Spent on the turris and castle.

During these seven years, therefore, a sum of nearly £4500 was expended on these works, and the date of the

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Keep and walls surrounding it is definitely fixed. It should be noted that the curtain and most of the towers in it have been either rebuilt or refaced.

The *curtain* forms an irregular polygon about 120 yards each way, supported by fourteen rectangular towers with no inward projection. These towers are nearly of the same height as the curtain, which is a very lofty wall. It is built of flint rubble quoined with ashlar, and battered on the outside at the base. The wall was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, which is now filled in on the south front. Two gates led in to the inner ward, the one on the north (29), called the King's Gate; that on the south being named the Palace, or the Duke of Suffolk's Gate (34). They are vaulted passages betweeen two flanking square towers, and are early English in character. Both were fitted with a portcullis. An outwork, consisting of a wall with towers, was thrown out in front of each of these gates, and the entry to these works was placed obliquely to the main gate so as to allow the approach to be commanded. That at the King's Gate remains much as it was first built, but the one at the Palace Gate has been entirely destroyed. This latter outwork could be entered by two gates, one (40) at the Well Tower, and the other (32), which was called King Arthur's Gate, was close to the Armourer's Tower. The towers contained in the curtain were called the *Duke of Suffolk's Tower* (34), named after the duke, who married the sister of Edward IV. That king is said to have spent a considerable sum in repairing and decorating it. The *Arsenal Tower* (33), long used as a store for the munitions of war, and then converted into a stable. It is now used as a coal store. *The King's Kitchen* (31). —These buildings were converted into barracks in 1745, and the alterations then made were so extensive as to

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amount to an entirely new construction. *King Arthur's Hall* (30)—this is the traditional site of a large Saxon building. No trace of it remains unless it be in the arrangement of the present buildings, which include a large hall now used as the adult school. The whole of this block was formerly used as an officers' mess at the end of the last century, but is now devoted to scholastic purposes and a sergeants' mess.

Mamignot's Towers (27, 28), *Gore's Tower* (26), and the *Armourer's Tower* (42), which was destroyed in 1795-96, call for no special notice. *King Arthur's Lesser Hall* (25) was formerly used as a storeroom for provisions. In the days of Elizabeth some wine and salt beef were exhibited in this store as being relics from the days of Julius Cæsar!

The Well Tower (41) protected a well 380 feet deep, which was probably older than the Norman tower. About 1800 this well was protected with a bomb-proof covering, "and the labourers in clearing away for a foundation came upon one of the caves in the rocks which had been designed for lodging the Saxon soldiers or depositing their stores".

The Keep (35) is a magnificent pile nearly square, being ninety-eight feet north and south and ninety-six feet east and west. A fore-building covers the east side and south-east angle of the main structure, and is fifteen feet wide by forty-five feet long. The angles of the main building are capped by pilasters which, rising to the summit, form the outer faces of four square turrets. On all the faces, except the east, an intermediate pilaster rises to the parapet and forms a bay in its line. The height of the wall is eighty-three feet, the turrets being twelve feet higher. The top of the plinth is marked, on the face of the pilasters, by

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a bold cordon, and there are two sets-off of six inches, one at the first the other at the second floor level. The walls are of a most unusual thickness, the west wall being twenty-one feet, the north seventeen, the south nineteen, and the east eighteen feet. The cross wall which divides the building north and south into two nearly equal parts is eleven feet thick at the base and six feet at the top. The thickness of the walls allowed the construction of twenty-seven mural chambers, which we believe to be without parallel in any other English castle. The main entrance is on the east face, near its north end, at the second floor level. The forebuilding which covers it is the finest in England. Besides this entrance there seems to have been one on the first floor level from the forebuilding. Others have since been added, one in the fourteenth century, directly into the basement; and a second during the present century, in the base of the south-west staircase. Two well staircases exist in the north-east and south-west angles of the building, and are remarkable for the amount of light and accommodation provided. *The basement.*—The original floor of the basement seems to have been some eight feet lower than the present floor, although this is not certain. This space, probably used as cellars, is divided into two chambers by the cross wall, which was pierced by three plain round-headed arches eleven feet wide. These chambers are fifty feet long by sixteen and twenty feet wide. There is also a third chamber twenty-eight feet by fifteen feet, and a mural chamber in the west wall, thirty-nine feet by twelve, recently used as a powder magazine. The east chamber and its smaller annexe are used as tanks, and are now reached by external openings. *The first floor* is also divided into two main apartments, connected by a small door in the cross wall at their north end. The *eastern*

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apartment is fifty-three by twenty-two feet, and has a deep recess at its southern end. A mural chamber is approached from this room, eighteen feet by eleven, and leads, by a door with a window above it, to the staircase in the forebuilding. The door and window are Tudor in design, but have evidently replaced some older openings. At the north-east corner of the main chamber a door opens into a lobby from which access is obtained by a descent of six steps to the well staircase. From this lobby a large mural chamber is entered, twenty-four feet by twelve, with an opening in the east wall, which leads, by a short passage, to a second chamber in the north wall seventeen feet by three. In the north wall of the main apartment a small door opens into a mural gallery, sixteen feet long, lighted by a window. This gallery leads to a small room containing a window. There is also a recess here, seven feet wide and ten feet above the gallery floor, ending in an opening on the north face, which has been replaced by a modern window. The western apartment is fifty-two feet by twenty, and like the eastern has a deep recess in its southern end, now lighted by a modern window, and from which access is gained to a mural chamber, thirteen feet by nine, furnished with a fireplace and a deep opening for light. There are three mural chambers in the west wall, the largest of which is twenty-three feet by ten. In the north wall there is another recess similar to that already described in the eastern chamber. In the cross wall there are two fireplaces, one in each of the two main apartments. *The second floor* is the state floor of the building, and the chief entrance opens into it. It possessed two tiers of windows, the upper passing through a mural gallery. In 1800 this floor was covered by two large brick vaults, which were erected with the idea of making the ramparts

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strong enough to bear the strain of artillery fire. They greatly disfigure the appearance of the main apartments, but are still necessary, as the large tanks which supply the water for the garrison are placed upon the roof of the keep. The eastern apartment is entered by a large, full-centred doorway. From this a vaulted passage traverses the wall, here sixteen feet thick, and descends by eight steps into the main chamber. From this passage access is obtained to the well chamber, which is sixteen feet by eight. The well is four feet in diameter and 289 feet deep, lined, as far as can be seen, with ashlar. The great eastern chamber communicates with the north-east spiral staircase by a curving passage containing eleven steps; and at the south end with the antechapel, chapel, and main staircase through a small mural chamber. At this end also there is a window recess seven feet deep, with a fireplace at its west jamb, and a door leading into another mural chamber, eighteen feet by twelve, leading to the antechapel and robing room. The window at the north end is eight feet wide, and communicates with a small room. The western apartment has a seven-foot window at the south end communicating with a wall chamber fourteen feet by nine, which has a fireplace. The north wall is pierced by a high recess, eight feet wide, ending in a window; and the west wall is occupied by two windows and two large mural chambers. This noble apartment is fifty-three feet by twenty-one, and communicates with the south-western wall staircase. The cross wall contains two fireplaces, one in each of the two main apartments. A gallery runs through the wall at the top of these apartments, but it is not constructed on a uniform level. It is not possible to go right round the building, for the gallery ends on the north side in two chambers which do

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not communicate. There also seems to have been a gallery running through the top of the cross wall, connected with the main passage just described. The towers on the forebuilding were reached by the gallery, which also had four openings looking into the great apartments below. *The forebuilding* was strengthened by three towers, one at the north and south ends, and one over the staircase on the east face. The object of the forebuilding was to contain and protect the great staircase, and it contains three vestibules, two chapels, an antechapel, several wall chambers and a well. The present entrance by ten steps on the south side is probably modern, as the original ascent seems to have been against and parallel to the keep wall. Entry is obtained by a lofty doorway surmounted by a window in the upper chapel passage. Beyond the door eleven covered steps lead to the lower vestibule, some twenty feet above the ground. A door leads from here, in the west wall, to the lodge, a plain barrel vaulted chamber thirteen feet by six. From thence, by an archway springing from coupled columns and flanked by two others, an approach is gained to the lower chapel. The altar in this chapel was so placed that it could be seen by every one entering the keep. The *chapel* is fourteen feet by thirteen, and its north and south walls are ornamented with two arched arcades, divided by a pier carrying two nook shafts with a third shaft in the centre. In the south-eastern arch is an opening for light, and opposite to it a cupboard. Another opening is pierced in the east end, placed in a recess flanked by two shafts. The ceiling was flat, and made of timber. From the paid accounts of the exchequer we find that this chapel and the one above it were called respectively St. Andrew and St. Thomas. The following extracts from the accounts for the years 1286-7 will prove interesting:—

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Item: to six boards bought to make a window (shutter?) for the chapel of S. Andrew . . . . . s. xij d.
To 11 ells of linen, for towels made for the altar, at 4d. an ell . . . . . 3s. 8d.
To 16 ells of linen, to make two albs, at 4d. the ell . . 5s. 4d.
To 2 lbs. of sea coal, for making "stapulos et clikett" for the windows of the chapel of S. Andrew; and one key for the door of the chamber close to the same chamber, which is called Malthus . . . . . s. 3d.
To a mason and his boy for making good defects in the prison called Heremerehucche, and buttresses of the chapel of the blessed Thomas, and steps leading into the new gate . . . . . s. xi d.
To a plumber and his boy mending the cistern in the Donjon, and defects over the chapel of the blessed Thomas . . . . . s. xi d.

As the chapel of the Blessed Thomas is spoken of as under the roof it is therefore safe to ascribe the dedication of the upper chapel to that saint. It may be noticed that in all probability it is Thomas of Canterbury and not the apostle that is meant.

At the north side of the vestibule a doorway opens into a vaulted passage, which leads, by seven steps and a landing, into the middle vestibule. On the left of the vestibule is a Tudor doorway, leading into the first floor of the keep. Ascending another twelve steps a broad landing is reached, and passing another doorway, which pierces the wall of the middle tower, a further flight of twenty steps takes us to the upper vestibule. This vestibule is twenty-five feet by fourteen, and its east wall has been rebuilt together with the roof. In the south wall a narrow passage leads to the outer well, which was four feet in diameter. It appears to have been used in modern times as a cess-pit, and is now choked up. The well is placed in the centre of the tower which was built of solid masonry. In the north end of the vestibule a door leads

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into a vaulted guard-chamber, deeply recessed in its west wall. The great door of the keep leads out of the vestibule on its western side. At this level, entered only from the keep, are the robing-chambers, antechapel, and upper chapel. The passage to the chapel is only two feet five inches broad, which would have prevented any one of ordinary stoutness using it. The robing-room is vaulted and ribbed. The antechapel, sixteen feet by thirteen, has an arcade of two arches in the north and south walls, and on its east side an arch of eight feet opens into the chapel. The *chapel* is decorated with an arcade of two arches on its north and south walls, with nook shafts in pairs at the angles, behind which, from a corbel capital spring the ribs of the vaulted roof. The moulding of the roof is a roll with a band of dog-tooth. There is a small decorated window, and a piscina with a trefoiled head and a projecting bason. This is, most probably, a decorated addition.

The keep is chiefly built of Kentish rag worked as rubble, and not very regularly coursed. Ashlar, mostly of Caen stone, is used freely for doors, window dressings and quoins. There is a strict absence of decoration about the building, unless we except the lower vestibule and chapels in the forebuilding. The unique feature about this keep is the second well, no other instance, so far as we know, having been recorded.

The keep and curtain wall formed the inner ward of the defences; the outer, or as it afterwards became, the middle ward, consisted of the old Roman and Saxon earthworks, strengthened by the stone wall already referred to. The entrance to this ward was defended by the *Colton Gate* (36). This, as it now stands, is a Norman hexagonal tower on a square base, but there is reason to believe that it was either built on a Saxon foundation,

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or entirely replaced some stone defensive work of an earlier period. As has already been described, it was the regular residence of the military chaplains of the Castle, and it was from this circumstance that they derived their peculiar title of "Coclico". The manor of Cocklescombe in the hundred of Bewsborough, Kent, was charged with its repair, and the gradual wear and tear of language will easily explain the change from Cocklescombe to Cocklico. This tower was known by several different names at various periods, Sir Edward Dering in the sixteenth century calling it "Caldicott, Coclico or Pennington" Tower, and in a bill of repairs for 1582 it is spoken of as "Cocklicowe called Colton". The wall running round the Roman rampart was originally connected with this gate, and it was not pulled down until the year 1772, when one workman was killed, and several hurt, by its fall.

Harcourt's Tower was built much later, probably in the reign of Edward I. It stood (39) near the south-west angle of the inner ward over a passage included by parallel walls leading from Peverell's Tower, and communicating with the keep. On the wall on the right side going up this passage was a door which opened into the quadrangle. The tower was built over this passage, which it surmounted on an arch. In 1797 the final destruction of this part of the Norman defences took place, and not only is it impossible to find any trace of Harcourt's Tower, but the whole character of the works at this point has been entirely changed and swept away. Tradition asserts that the buildings for the Saxon College, founded by Eadbald, were erected on the present parade ground (45), although another theory is that they once stood near to the Canons' Gate. As that entry was not thought of until long after the removal of the canons to the town there does not seem to be much strength in the argument.

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The annals of the castle are practically a blank during the reigns of Henry II. and his successor Richard I. The former monarch paid a visit to Dover in the year 1156, but we are not sure that he rested in the Castle. Richard I. is also reputed to have spent a short time within its precincts anterior to his departure for the Crusades.

It is usually supposed that the original system of defending the fortress by castle-guard tenure remained in force until the time of John, and that the Fenes were Constables until the beginning of his reign. We are inclined, from the evidence of the Pipe Rolls, to believe that it was Henry II. who did away with that system. In the twenty-eighth year of Henry II. we find that the king paid the "porters and watchmen" of the Castle, and in the thirty-fifth year of the same reign a charge is made against the king of sixty marks for the support of the soldiers in charge of the defences of the Castle. It must also be noted that the names of the Constables of the Castle may be learnt from the same unimpeachable authority, and that the name of Fenes is not once mentioned. The names of these Constables will be found in Chapter xiv., where the subject is also discussed.

King John was frequently in Dover Castle, and many of his writs were signed there, but the chief interest, so far as the Castle is concerned, is centred in a much nobler man than John, *viz.*, Hubert de Burgo. The most famous Englishman of his day, he was twice Constable of the Castle during this reign, and his name will always be reverenced by any student of its history. During his second period of office, in 1216, the Castle was besieged by the Dauphin, Louis, afterwards Louis VIII. of France, eldest son of Philip "Augustus," who had been invited to conquer England by some of the king's rebellious barons. His attack was defeated,

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and England saved from a second foreign supremacy by the valour and skill of Hubert de Burgo. Matthew Paris gives an elaborate account of this siege, and the following information is taken from that source. The King of France assisted the Dauphin by all means in his power, and he sent over large and very carefully prepared *petraria*, by which it was hoped that the defences of the Castle would be shattered. These machines were erected before the walls of the fortress and discharged huge stones without intermission against the defences. Towers of wood (*malvoisins*) were also set up on the edge of the ditch, from which a perfect hail of darts was discharged at the defenders of the Castle, to keep down their fire, and to enable the battering rams to be brought into action against the walls. The men-at-arms within the Castle, in number about 140, conducted the defence with vigilance and fortitude. Encouraged by de Burgo they replied so vigorously to the enemy's attack, discharging at them showers of darts in reply to their darts, and stones for their stones, that after suffering much loss the French were at length forced to withdraw their machines from the walls. Louis was so enraged at this that he swore a mighty oath that he would never leave the place until he had taken the Castle and hanged every man within it. The siege commenced on 24th June, and on 19th October King John died. This event filled the besiegers with the hope that de Burgo would yield, and a parley was proposed and held. The Earl of Salisbury, who conducted the negotiations, brought with him in chains Thomas de Burgo, the Constable's brother, who had been captured at Norwich by the Dauphin. Thomas appealed to his brother to yield the Castle on the grounds that if he refused Louis would

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hang him before the Castle walls "to the eternal disgrace of our race". The Earl of Salisbury confirmed this statement, and offered as a bribe to Hubert, to desert his allegiance to the youthful son of John, the promise that Louis would give him Suffolk and Norfolk in hereditary right, and would make him first among his friends and councillors. De Burgo indignantly refused to entertain the proposal, saying, "Let not Louis conceive at all a hope that I will surrender the Castle. As long as I draw breath never will I resign to French aliens this Castle which is the very key and gate of England." The attack was thereupon renewed with great fury, and unless reinforcements had been brought in by an ancestor of the future Constable, Stephen de Pencestre, it is possible that de Burgo would have had to yield. With these 400 men-at-arms, the reputed number of the reinforcement, the defence was carried on with greater vigour, and in the end the enemy had to beat an inglorious retreat. The Castle was not closely invested during the siege, and the attack was chiefly directed against the north-west angle of the curtain. It was commenced by driving a covered way, which extended from what is now known as Harold's Passage to the top of the hill, and just cleared the towers and walls at the point now occupied by the "spur". Remains of this trench were supposed to be in existence as late as 1790. The weakness of this part of the defences having been made so apparent the outwork numbered on the plan (15) was constructed as soon as peace was restored. Towards the end of the last century this work was altered to its present shape, but the souterrain leading to it is in part the same that was executed under the orders of de Burgo. It is now called the Spur Ravelin and Redoubt.

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In 1217, Louis, after the disastrous battle of Lincoln, appealed to his father for help, and in answer to this appeal a strong fleet was fitted out and placed under the command of Eustace, a renegade monk and English subject. This fleet consisted of eighty large vessels, and was accompanied by many smaller ones. De Burgo who fully understood the necessity of preventing the French making a successful landing, could only muster twenty of the Cinque Ports' ships of any size and a few small ones. With this inferior force, however, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy, and it is remarkable that the methods he employed were similar to those which, in subsequent ages, were adopted by the most distinguished of our naval commanders. He manœuvred for the wind, and when he had gained that advantage, he used it to press home a deadly close attack.

It is not only on the gallant defence of the Castle that the reputation of Hubert de Burgo depends. The construction of the outer walls and towers were commenced and carried out under his constableship. From 1220 to 1239 an immense sum was expended in building these important works. This money was raised in many ways, and from towns outside the county of Kent. In 1225 the whole scutage of Kent was devoted to this object, and other means were adopted to find sufficient funds to defray the great expense incurred. William Mare, for instance, was appointed to the charge of the exchange table of London, on the condition that he gave fifty marks annually for the support of Dover Castle. The same was done in York, Durham, Bury St. Edmunds and Canterbury.

The result of these new works was the addition of an outer ward to the defences of the Castle. Its position may still be clearly traced, and it will be seen that

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although narrow at the north it enclosed a considerable space of ground on the cliffs at the sea end. The curtain wall rises externally from a dry ditch, and had twenty-seven towers of various dimensions and shapes built into it. Some are square, some circular, some are mult-angular, and some are simply hollow bastions, whilst several on the eastern face were little more than stone sentry boxes. The line followed was very irregular, with an occasional angle or shoulder for raking the ditch. The interior of the curtain was reduced by a ramp to a parapet wall. Beginning at the south-west corner the first tower was called :—

Canons' Gate (1), described by Sir Edward Dering as a "square tower or gate called Porta Arrivage," from the nominal founder of the Saxon castle, "it was from ye beginning, but since ye Saxon times there is a College that King Eadbald built" placed close to it. During the reign of Edward III. a new postern was erected nearer the cliff's edge, which was long since closed up. When artillery was introduced into the Castle the Canons' Gate was partially pulled down, and converted into a platform for guns by filling up the entry with rubbish, and building up the gateway with masonry. In 1797 the remains of the old gate were discovered, and from its position it was evident that no bridge had previously existed there; it was a mere postern affording a rapid means of communication with the town. About the date mentioned the gate was reopened, and a barrack, a cook-house, kitchen and magazine were constructed at the same time. During the necessary excavations for these works an old well, 150 feet deep, was discovered.

Rokesley Tower (2) stood next, and gained its name from the manor of Roxley in Lenham, which was allotted for its support. This manor was one of the knight's fees

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given to de Crevequer by William the Conqueror. It was a square tower with a semicircular front.

Fulbert de Dover's Tower (3), or as it was called in the middle ages "Albrankis," was supported by the manor of Chilham, granted as a knight's fee to Fulbert de Dover. This tower had become a ruin in the time of Edward IV., who rebuilt it and caused it to be used as the dwelling-place of the Clerk of the Chequer.

Hirst's Tower (4).—It was supported by the manor of Hirst, which appertained to the manor of Chilham, and John de Hirst seems to have held it on military tenure from one of the Lords of Dover.

Arsick Tower (5), was supported by one of the manors held *in capite* by William de Arsick, probably Farningham. His descendant Robert was living at the time this tower was built.

Gatton Tower (6), called also Copley by Sir E. Dering. It was supported out of the revenues of Gatton in Surrey, which was granted to William de Peverell. Copley probably held this manor later on, and his name would thus be connected with the tower supported out of his lands.

Peverell's Tower (7), also called *The Marshal's*, *Beauchamp's*, and the *Bell Tower*. The manors of Wrensted and Throwley in Kent were responsible for the up-keep of this fine tower, which with its arched gateway, ditch and drawbridge constituted the entrance into the middle ward. At one time it was used as a prison and the residence of the marshal, and hence its name. On the side of the tower fronting the keep there was an arched passage from the main gate, which communicated with the caponiere leading under Harcourt's Tower. The arms of Hugh Beauchamp, marshal of the Castle, were cut on a stone shield placed on the front of the tower, and

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PEVERELL'S GATE.

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were visible in 1801, when the stone was removed. The original battlements have been replaced by a parapet of brick. In 1771 the wall between this tower and Port fell down, and in digging for a new foundation the piers of the old bridge before the gate were discovered.

Port Tower (8) has been known under various names, *Laswells*, *Gostling* or *Queen Mary*. It was supported by the Manor of Dane in Sussex, according to Sir Ed. Dering, but it is more probable that the manor of Laswell in Kent was set aside for this purpose. Otherwise one of its names loses all significance. Gostling seems to have been the name of one of the knights who held this manor on military tenure, and so gave his name to the tower. It fell down in the reign of Edward VI., and was rebuilt by Queen Mary, after whom it was consequently named. It seems to have been used as an office before its ruin.

The Constable's Tower (9).—"One of the grandest gateways in England. Its plan is that of a triangle with its obtuse angle presented to the field. The angles at the base fall within the line of the curtain and are capped by two large drum towers. The salient angle in like manner is capped by an oblong tower, rounded at each end and flat in the centre." The three towers are connected with an embattled curtain. Within the triangle a central tower rises to a greater height, and commands the whole. It was supported by the manors of Allington and Tunstal. This gate, called New Gate or Fiennes' Tower at different times, has undergone several alterations, none of which have added to its beauty. The brickwork arches are supposed to have been added in the reign of Charles I., and the cement covering to the central tower during the present century. The modern additions are more in keeping with the building, and

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have rendered it a convenient dwelling-house for the Officer Commanding the troops in the South-Eastern District. The hall was used as a court house at one time, and there is a general belief that the tower was the ordinary place of execution for the Castle, but we have discovered no proof of it. For a long time the porter's lodge contained a sword, an old key, and a horn, which were described as belonging to the days of Julius Cæsar. The horn was supposed to be the original one used in summoning the labourers to their work when engaged in building the Castle. They are now exhibited in the Keep. The small room, now used as an engine room, was formerly the record office, and the Ports' Domesday Book used to be kept there. About the beginning of the seventeenth century these invaluable documents were either sold to, or stolen by, tradesmen of the town, fortunately transcripts were made of some which have survived to the present day. The caponiere was erected during the great war with France at the beginning of the century, and the outwork, remains of which can still be seen, was built about the same time. The main entry into the Castle was not until comparatively modern times through this gate, but through Mamignot's Towers farther north. The original approach to this tower was up a flight of steps.

Clopton Tower (46) is named after the manor of Clopton, Norfolk, which was responsible for its repair. A Walter Clopton was Deputy Constable in 1381. Edward IV. rebuilt it, finding it in a ruinous state, and Sir Stephen de Pencestre appointed it as the treasurer's residence and office. In Edward VI.'s reign it was used as a record office for the Castle and, according to Darell, was plundered by a competitor for the office of Lieutenant of the Castle, named Levenste, who destroyed most of

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THE CONSTABLE'S TOWER.

From a photograph by Mr. H. Gibson.

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the documents with fire in revenge for not obtaining the appointment.

Godsfoe Tower (10).—This tower is called by Sir Ed. Dering *Heling, Devon, Devil's Tower* or *Turris inimici Dei*, he says it was supported by the manor of Devon in Istling. Lyon, on the other hand, gives the manor as Sentling, and says it is called after a person named Godsfoe.

Crêvequer's Tower (11), also called *Bigod's* or *The Duke's Tower*, was probably supported out of the revenue of Badlesmere. Hugh Bigod, who was Warden in the reign of Henry III., "caused considerable vaults and trenches to be made which were begun in the time of King John by Stephen Stowtingham, lieutenant to de Burgo". The names Bigod and Duke given to this tower are owing to Hugh Bigod and the Duke of Suffolk owning Badlesmere.

Mamignot's Towers (12 and 13).—These towers formed originally a large building, which, according to Lyon, was the principal guardroom for the night. Sir Ed. Dering seems to designate them under the names of Giround and Peverell, but we are not certain of this. Lyon's description is as follows: "A very wide and lofty souterrain was made under this tower, . . . it was cut in the solid rock with a considerable descent, and it opened in the exterior ditch. On the right-hand side of the main souterrain there was a passage which led to a door nearly under the foundation of the exterior wall, where there was a passage, by a flight of stone steps, into a gallery in the bank of the ditch, which formed a communication between the tower in the angle and a new one built in the ditch before the souterrain. In order to make a sally and to secure a retreat from the spur, they built a caponiere across the ditch from St.

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John's Tower (14), which opened in the surface, about the middle of the spur, in three branches. The eastern branch had a circular tower (15) in the parapet of this outwork. When the alterations were made some few years since (about 1780), the tower was either demolished or buried." The main entry for wheeled vehicles used to be between these towers.

St. John's Tower (14) was named after Lord St. John of Basing who married a descendant of Mamignot, and whose inherited land was charged with the support of this tower. It covered the souterrain leading to the outwork thrown up after the repulse of the French in 1216.

Fitz-William's Tower (16), also called *Maunswell's* Tower by Sir Ed. Dering. This tower was connected with the inner ward by a souterrain, and with the outer ditch by a caponiere.

Watch Towers (17).

Averanche Tower (18) was placed in the angle of the curtain and "its foundations were laid below the bottom of the deep ditch on the one side, and the wall was carried up, about ten feet thick, to a level with the inner vallum. In this wall they built a gallery on each of the five sides of the tower. At every angle there were several stone steps, leading from one platform to another." It was supported by the manor of Folkestone.

Neville's Tower (19), called also *Pencestre's*, *Mannowth* or *Frecham Tower*, was in the angle of the wall between Averanche and Godwin's Towers. Lyon says that several bomb-proof casemates were in existence in his day in the bank between Fitzwilliam's and this tower.

Godwin's Tower (20).—Described as a "Privy Postern" by Sir Ed. Dering, and as being in existence before the conquest.

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Ashford Towers (21).—Three small square towers to protect this side of the defences. They were repaired by a charge on the manor of Ashford, or Echetisforde as it used to be written.

The Debtors' Prison seems to have been erected on the site of a more ancient building, called Harman's Hutch in Norman days, and reputed to have been built in Saxon times. One Harman, a jailer in the days of William I., is reported to have tormented the prisoners taken in the attempt of Eustace of Boulogne to surprise the Castle, and to have given his name to the building. It was the dwelling place of an officer of the castle called "Bodere" (*q. v.*). For very many years it was used as the debtors' prison for the whole of the Cinque Ports, who were confined in it without any provision being made for their support. In 1810 a sum of £800 was placed in trust by Mr. James Neild of Chelsea for the purpose of providing bread for the prisoners. A full account of this trust will be found in Lyon (vol. ii., 25 *et seq.*).

During the revolutionary period of Henry III.'s reign the Castle became the object of contention to both parties, the king's and the barons'. From a reference to the list of Constables it will be seen that no less than seventeen were appointed during the period 1258 to 1265, or an average of more than two a year. The importance of possessing so formidable a fortress, which commanded the harbour where foreign troops could so easily be landed, fully accounts for the struggle which took place to secure it. The strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the king's government came to a head in 1258, when the barons met at Oxford with their retainers to the number of 60,000. The result was the well-known "Provisions of Oxford," one of which was that the offices of State and

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the fortresses should be put into the hands of Englishmen only. Richard de Grey, Lord of Codnor, a strong supporter of the baronial cause, was made Constable of Dover. The king was enabled to again secure the Castle by the appointment of a Constable favourable to himself about 1260, but in 1263 he was compelled to surrender it to one of the three bishops mediating between the king and the barons. In December the king, under the guidance of Prince Edward, made a vigorous attempt to surprise the Castle, but they were foiled by de Grey who was again Constable. The *Mise* of Amiens again placed the Castle in the royal hands, but the battle of Lewes almost immediately afterwards gave it back to the Earl of Leicester, who placed his son, Henry de Montfort, in charge. The Countess of Leicester took refuge there during the stormy period which ensued, and, although the royalists were strong enough in the district to prevent the garrison obtaining supplies without fighting for them, she remained there in safety until after the battle of Evesham. The Castle was regained for the king by the help of twelve royalist prisoners, who boldly seized two of the towers after securing the connivance of two of their guards. Prince Edward had marched with extraordinary rapidity upon the place after Evesham, and it surrendered to him without enduring a siege.

A return is extant, made by Robert Walerand when he was Constable, as to the knights' fees held for castle-guard in the year 1262. They are given as follows: Averanche, twenty; Fouberd (de Dover), fifteen; Arsyck, seventeen; Peverel, fourteen; Mamignot, twenty-four; Port, twelve; and Crevequer, three. It will be observed that Fitz-William is not mentioned, and that Averanche is one less, and Crevequer two less than the number originally granted. Moreover, no reference is made to

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the fees granted to Fenes. Considerable difficulty arose in connection with the collecting of the "wards" (the money paid in lieu of personal service by the holder of the fee) during this reign, and the king was obliged to interfere in 1225 to prevent what was felt to be an injustice being done, but the reference to personal service does not, we imagine, refer to Dover Castle. "No Constable shall distrain any Knight to pay a fine for keeping his Castle, if he perform the service himself, or by a substitute, when he is prevented by a reasonable cause. *If we do send him in our army, he shall be free from Castle Ward, for the time he shall be with us in our host.*" In 1243 Richard de Handlo, Gilbert de Cheriton and Thomas Maunsel were appointed to receive the wards due to the Castle, and a few months later Hugo de Lisseburn was ordered to distrain on all who were in arrears with their payments. Several entries of this description occur in the Patent Rolls.

The king was frequently in the Castle, and on one occasion he ordered the Sheriff of Kent "to cause the new hall" to be filled with poor people and find them food for one day before our coming into these parts (*His. Dic.*, Parker).

In 1256 Bertram de Crioill received stores of corn, barley, etc., to the value of £406 8s. 11d., "which remained due to him of the £427 4s. which he receives annually for charge of Dover Castle". It would appear, therefore, that in these days the stipend of the Constable was only expected to pay for the upkeep of the Castle garrison.

Hubert de Burgo was probably the author of "The Statutes of Dover Castle" promulgated in the reign of Henry III., and set forth by Sir Stephen de Pencestre when he was appointed Constable in 1267. They give us

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a clear insight into the method of government then prevailing in the Castle, and we transcribe them at length, simply noting that the gaps in the original documents, now partly destroyed, have been filled in from Lyon's book, he having had a transcript of the original before him. The additions are printed in italics.

I. At sunset the bridge shall be drawn, and the gates shut; afterwards the guard shall be mounted by twenty warders on the castle walls.

II. Any warder found outside the walls, or otherwise off his guard, shall be put in the donjon prison, and punished besides in body and goods at the Constable's discretion, since for that watch the Castle was trusted to him, not to be surprised through his default.

III. After the last mount, the sergeants shall turn out of their houses to serve as chief guards. They shall make continual rounds within the Castle to visit the warders on the walls and see that they right loyally keep their watch without going to sleep, by reason that they have the Constable's leave to sleep as much as they like in the daytime.

IV. It is established by ancient rule that if a chief guard discover a warder asleep he shall take something from him as he lies, or carry away his staff, or cut a piece out of part of his clothes, to witness against him in case the warder should deny having been asleep, and he shall lose his day's wage, *viz.:* ijd.

V. And if it happen that the sergeant will not make such arrest, for pity's sake, or even for life's sake, then he shall be brought before the Constable, and be sentenced to prison "*dur et fort*," after which he shall be led to the great gate, in presence of the garrison, and there be expelled the garrison. He shall, besides, lose his wage, and forfeit all his chattels found within the Castle walls.

VI. Either sergeant or warder using vile language shall be brought before the Constable, who shall have the matter considered, and the offence fairly enquired into. He who was in the wrong shall lose his day's pay—if the Constable so wills.

VII. If a sergeant or a warder strike another with the flat hand, he shall be liable to an *amende* as high as vs., and shall for the rest be held at the mercy of the court. If he hit with his fist

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he should be liable to an *amende* as high as xs., *and be at the mercy of the Court. If a sergeant or warder wound another the fine shall be as high as 15/-, and the offender shall forfeit his station in the Castle, if the Constable so adjudge.*

VIII. Because the Castle is out of common jurisdiction, it is ordained that at every quarter of the year shall the whole garrison be mustered in the presence of the Constable, and any shall then before him be addressed and reprehended who may be accused of any notable crime, which ought of right by Holy Church to be dealt. And if the Constable find himself in any perplexity thereupon, he may take counsel of some Parson of Holy Church who shall give him advice what to do in any such case.

IX. There shall be one sergeant and one guard, elected in full garrison assembled, who shall be sworn to leal keeping of that light in Holy Church which is not burning inside the chancel.

X. And because the priests are sworn on their consciences to keep leal watch over the chancel lights, if any one of them knows of the others doing other than they ought, he shall report and accuse them before the Constable; unless indeed they be willing to inflict penance on themselves, *and then he may excuse them.*

XI. Reliques are appointed to be shown, and, especially such as are of the true Cross, shall be brought out every friday and placed on the High Altar from the ringing of prime to the end of high mass.

XII. They shall be open to all who wish to visit them, for the honour of God and the benefit of the Chapel. Meantime one of the priests shall stop by the Reliques, or a Clerk who shall be vested in a surplice. These may show and explain the Reliques, and pronounce absolution to those who may desire it.

XIII. At all great feasts of the year, that is at the Feast of our Lord, and our Lady, of S. John, of SS. Peter and Paul, and of All Saints, and such as are double and solemn shall mass be sung. And on the vigils shall be grand *seynsey;* and afterwards at the procession and sequence at matins and vespers shall be a Te Deum, Laus Deo, and Gloria in Excelsis.

XIV. At Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Feasts of our Lady, as well as at all chief Festivals, shall all the peals, great and small, be rung; and once all together for the sake of the greater solemnity.

XV. Item, after the same manner it is ordered, that if a knight,

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a lady, or a chaplain in the said Castle die, the commendation shall be made by all the priests who shall be vested in *chapes de goer*.

XVI. And at the burial, in like manner, of a deacon or subdeacon *shall all the priests attend, similarly vested.*

XVII. At the funeral of a sergeant the first Chaplain is to attend in his hood; and the others in surplices. At the funeral of a watchman the Chaplain is to wear his gown. At the burial of a soldier his surplice.

XVIII. Every Sunday after high mass, holy bread shall be given in the chancel to all who have attended the festivals, marriages, or sermons during the preceding week.

XIX. The priests are to pray for the recovery of the Holy Land, the success of Christianity, the King and royal family, the Barons of the Realm, the Constable and all the Garrison.

XX. The Rector, or one of the Chaplains at his request, is to preach at high mass.

XXI. The font, Eucharist, the oil and ointments are to be well guarded, and kept under key by the Rector, who is also to provide a clerk qualified to read and chant daily at Matins, mass, and vespers.

XXII. When one of the garrison dies his "obiit" is to be placed in the Calendar, and high mass said for him on the first anniversary.

Other regulations are given by Lyon as being contained in these statutes, and we think better to quote them from his book. "A person belonging to the Castle was not to quit it, without leave from the Constable; and if either sergeant, or watchman, offended against this rule, he was to forfeit his wages, and quit his service.

"The Marshal had the keeping of the prison, and the fees belonging to the office. Every person, who was attached for the service of ward, sursize, and for every beast, was to pay the bailiff fourpence. Every person confined in the prison, under lock and key, was to pay fourpence to the Marshal on his entrance, and as much on his discharge from the jail.

"The Lieutenant-Governor, the Clerk of the Exchequer, the Marshal, the Carpenter and other artificers, were, at stated times, to survey the works and walls of the Castle,

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both within and without, and order the necessary repairs of all the houses and the buildings; and they were to attend the workmen, and see that they did their work properly, that no fault might be found.

"The porters at the gate were not to suffer any persons to enter, until they had taken particular notice of them; and, if they were strangers, they were not to step within the sill of the wicket, but one of the porters was to call the Constable, and in his absence the Lieutenant; but every person asking admittance was to receive civil treatment. The porters were to attend to these orders, under heavy forfeitures. The gates were never to be left, during the day, to the care of any persons but the porters, and they were always to have the wicket secured with bolts. After the bridge was drawn up and the great gates shut, they were not to be opened until the rising of the sun. If the King came unexpectedly in the night the great gates were not to be opened to him, but he was to go to the postern, called the King's Gate, towards the north; and there the Constable, and those who accompanied him, might admit the King and a certain number of his suite. When the King was admitted he had the command: and in the morning, when it was full day, he might admit the remainder of his company.

"After the Marshal had ordered the guard for the night, and had appointed every man to his station, he was to go his rounds within side of the walls, after the first watch, to see that every watchman was at his station, and to charge them not to quit it, under the penalty of forfeiting their pay."

It is much to be regretted that Lyon did not give a full translation of this important document as he found it, but we have no reason to believe that his account of it is in any way untrustworthy. It was originally in the

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Surrenden collection of manuscripts, but a fragment only now survives.

In former days the Constables of the Castle had levied forced contributions of corn and other provisions for the garrison from the town and neighbouring places, which were considerably increased at the time of a royal visit. Henry III., in 1225, enacted that "No Constable or bailiff shall take corn or other chattels of any man, if the man be not of the town where the Castle is, but he shall forthwith pay for the same, without respiting the payment: and if he shall be of the same town, the price shall be paid him in forty days".

In 1254 Henry landed in Dover on his return from his fruitless expedition to Gascony. He was met by the Earl of Cornwall and many of the prelates and barons, and stayed for a short period in the Castle, which until the days of the Tudors was maintained as a royal residence. He is reported to have received considerable offerings of gold and silver towards liquidating the enormous debt he had contracted during his expedition in Gascony. Eight years later he was again in the Castle making preparation to resist the confederate barons. After the battle of Lewes Prince Edward was confined here for a short time, but was soon removed to Leeds. This prince, after he had settled the affairs of the kingdom, took the cross, and was in the Holy Land when Henry III. died in 1272. He did not return to England until 1274, when he landed at Dover. He paid several visits to the Castle, and in 1278 signed the great charter of the Cinque Ports, which emphasised, if it did not create, the authority of the Wardens.

During the reign of Edward II. certain repairs were made in the Castle, and not only was money found by the exchequer, but the Archbishop of Canterbury was

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ordered to give 200 out of a fine of 500 marcs for the work in progress. Soon after his accession the king came to the Castle on his road to France for his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. He appointed Piers Gaveston regent of the kingdom during his absence. This appointment led to a rebellion of the barons under the leadership of the Earl of Lancaster, and to the government of the country being practically taken out of the king's hands. The king stayed at Dover on his return from France with the queen, and settled the arrangements for their coronation. It was in Dover Castle in 1312 that the king signed the paper by which he agreed to the suppression of the Knight Templars and the transference of their possessions to the Knight Hospitallers. In the following year he was again in Dover with the queen and Hugh le Spencer, and issued a curious manifesto to various potentates, in which he recited the fall of man and the need of faith in Christ as an inducement to them to grant free passage for certain missionaries proceeding to the East. A curious letter also exists from the Pope to Robert de Kendall, whilst he was Warden, urging him to give counsel and help to the king in pacifying the realm. In 1320 a Council of State was held in the Castle before the king crossed the straits to do homage to the King of France for his province of Poitou.

Edward III. immediately on his accession sanctioned a considerable expenditure of money on the repairs "of the engine house and other works in Dover Castle," for the "King's convenience and salvation of the Castle". William de Scothou, the surrogate of the Warden, was ordered to expend the £40 received by him "for the sale of horses of the men of Hainault on their return" on repairs. These were evidently the horses of the

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queen's escort on her first arrival in England. The Abbots of Langdon Priory and St. Radigund Abbey seem to have contracted for extensive repairs to the Castle in 1346-49, and their accounts may still be seen in the Record Office. In fact, the necessary works for keeping the defences in an efficient condition were regularly carried out during this long reign. The following is an extract from a letter in the Record Office from "son petit clerk," Ambroise de Newburgh, to Robert de Aylesston: "I beg to inform you, my Lord, that your letter concerning the Castle of Dover came to me at Hythe, which is seven leagues from Dover, where all the Mayors and bailiffs of the V. Ports were assembled thursday after 'the Goule Dangst,' and the same day I went to Dover, and on the day after the sub-constable and I went to count all the loopholes in the Castle, and found that in the outer wall of the Castle there are 555 loopholes, and in the same wall are 19 towers, and a grand tower outside the gate, and another grand tower on the north side, of which grand towers the loopholes are included in the aforesaid number, *viz.*: 555. And because the rule in every castle or town enclosed by a crenelated wall is that there should be three men to every two loopholes, 832 men will be required for this outer wall. And in the tower and round the keep and the inner bailey are 378 loopholes, to guard which 168 men would suffice, making 1000 in all."

Edward III. was in the Castle in 1329, and crossed over to France in the Cinque Ports' fleet with 1000 horsemen to do homage for his territory in France. He crossed again in 1331, and concluded a treaty with the French king. Towards the end of his reign he again spent a short time in the Castle whilst the marriage treaty between Edmund the king's son and Margaret the daughter

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of the Earl of Flanders was arranged. Considerable sums were spent in festivities, and in the issues of the exchequer for 1366 there is a record of the payment of the account of one Hessey, a London goldsmith, for thirty-seven cups, godels and ciphos, some valued at 200 marks, and many at £8 or £9, which were given at Dover to divers knights and others in the retinue of the Earl of Flanders.

The Castle was again repaired in 1371, the Abbot of St. Radigund's Abbey and the Master of the Maison Dieu being employed to check the accounts (*contra-rotulatores*). Richard II. on his accession placed the Castle in a state of defence; the king's victualler was instructed to provide from the County of Kent "100 qrs. of corn, 100 qrs. of beans, 200 qrs. of oats, 20 tuns of wine, 40 beeves and 200 muttons". From this we may infer that the garrison was a fairly large one, and by no means indifferently fed. From information gathered from the document in French, as quoted by Mr. Lyon, we find that in the beginning of the century the soldiers were rationed as follows. Each man received daily, of bread one half-pound loaf, and of biscuit half a gallon; of wine five pints; of meat (issued only on eighteen out of every forty days) half a "mess" of beef, pork, or mutton. One hog being reckoned as twenty-four messes; of fish (issued twenty-two out of every forty days) five herrings or half a "middle" cod, or a part of a cod, and a ration of cheese and oatmeal; the daily wage was ijd. It is interesting to compare this with the soldiers' present rations, which are considerably inferior in quantity and variety.

In consequence of the "great loss of castle lands" the Constable in 1384 received a grant of the Manor of Leybourne. The amount received for castle wards was

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always a diminishing quantity, as, from various causes, the lands originally granted for its defence were frequently escheated to the Crown. They were not re-granted to the Castle, and this gift was made to a court favourite, Sir Simon de Burley, personally, and not to the Castle revenue. The following bill, which was paid in 1385, gives us an excellent idea of the cost of ordnance in those days: "for 12 guns, 2 iron patellas, 120 stones for the guns, and 100 lbs. of powder, £97 10s.". It is an extremely unfortunate thing that the records of the Castle were destroyed, for we have no means of estimating the strength of the garrison kept there during the reigns of the Lancastrian and Yorkish kings. From a writ issued in 1399 it would appear that a custom existed of impressing men to serve as soldiers in defending the Castle, but these were probably a special levy to maintain the fortress against any adherents of the unfortunate Richard II.

Henry V. during his reign caused the defences and buildings of the Castle to be placed in repair, and the Prior of St. Martin's seems to have been the supervisor of the works. The king was several times in Dover, and, when he landed there after the famous campaign in which Agincourt was fought, he was carried to the shore on the shoulders of an enthusiastic multitude which had assembled to greet him.

Edward IV., according to Lambarde, expended £10,000 in placing the Castle in a thorough state of repair, and in the issues of the exchequer for the year 1481 we find that William Leys received "in part payment for two million bricks," to be used in the works then going on in the Castle, "£33 6s.".

Dover Castle is mentioned in a statute of Henry VII. as one of the places where the standard weights and

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measures were to be kept. All weights and measures for common use were to be measured and marked by the "sealed patterns," and a fee of one penny was charged for each comparison.

Several appointments by royal writ are recorded in this reign to minor offices in the Castle, which proves that the king still retained the authority which in later days the Wardens certainly acquired. A "King's Court" was held in the Constable's Tower during this reign, and John Fyneux was appointed steward or recorder to it in 1488.

Henry VIII. took a keen interest both in the Castle and fort of Dover, and spent large sums of money on both places. That this was only just is true, for in 1523 he appropriated to himself, that is to the Crown, all the lands granted by William I. for the maintenance and defence of the Castle. This was done by act of Parliament, and in 1540 a second act was passed regulating the government of the Castle, by which a fixed salary was apportioned to the Constable of £160 per annum. The Warden of the Ports was made, by the same act, governor of all the castles and fortresses in Kent and Sussex. It was furthermore settled that the Castle Court was merely a Court Baron, and a Court of Ward, not a Court of Record. As early as 1300 there had been difficulties owing to the Constable endeavouring to extend the authority of his court beyond the precincts of the fortress, for by a statute of 28 Edward I. it was enacted that "the Constable of the Castle of Dover shall not from henceforth hold any plea of a foreign county within the Castle Gate except it touch the keeping of the Castle, nor shall the said Constable distrain the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports to plead any otherwhere, nor otherwise than they ought after the form of their old franchises

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confirmed by the great charter". During the reign of Henry VII. a Court of Common Plea was held in the Constable's Tower, and there were probably good reasons for the decision arrived at in 1540.

Henry VIII. expended the money received from the Castle lands in placing the fortress in a thorough state of defence, and several other fortifications were erected to protect the town from a foreign invasion. Arcliffe Fort was built, and the Black Bulwark upon the new pier, which was manned by a captain and eleven men. A new defence, afterwards called Moat's Bulwark, was also erected at the base of the Castle Cliff. This outwork was garrisoned by a captain and eighteen men. An earthwork, called the "green fortress upon the downs," was also constructed, and we are inclined to identify it with the work which may still be seen from the eastern rampart of the Castle. Strong fortresses were also built at Sandown, Deal, Walmer and Sandgate. Arcliffe Fort was defended by one demi-culverin, two sakers of brass, one fowler of iron, three single serpentines, twelve basses and twelve halbensters. A demi-culverin was a gun weighing some thirteen tons, four and a half inches in diameter at the mouth, and fired a shot nine pounds in weight. The saker weighed eleven tons, was three and a half inches at the mouth, and its shot weighed five pounds. The other guns were of smaller calibre, throwing shots weighing from three to six pounds.

So long as Henry VIII. lived the new arrangements made worked admirably, and sufficient sums of money were forthcoming to keep the defences in a proper state of repair. In succeeding reigns, however, the revenue obtained from the escheated lands was devoted to other purposes, and the Castle allowed to fall into a state of lamentable decay.

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Besides the king several visitors of distinction stayed in the Castle during this reign, notably Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn and the Emperor Charles V.

An "inventory of the furniture in Dover Castle" exists for the year 1536, from which the following is an extract:—

King's Chamber. 2 tabylls, 2 formis, 1 pair of trestyll, 2 copbordis, 2 small formis, and a lader.

Queen's Chamber. 5 formis, 2 pair of trestylls, 3 copbordis, 1 tabyll, 3 stolis, and a lader.

King Arthur's Hall. 7 tabylls, 12 formis, 14 trestylls, 1 copbordis.

Duke of Norfolk's Chamber. 1 copbordis, 1 lock, 1 key.

Lord Chamberlain for the Queen's Chamber. 1 tabyll, 1 lock, 2 trestylls.

Master Treasurer's Lodging. 2 tabylls, 4 trestylls, 4 formis, 1 copbordis.

Master Controller's Lodging. 1 tabyll, 2 formis, 2 locks, 1 key.

Mr. Henyge's Lodging. 2 tabylls, 5 formis, 4 trestylls, 1 lock, 1 key.

Mr. Caroo's Lodging. 1 copbordis, 2 locks, 2 keys.

Queen's Maids' Chamber. 1 planke, 1 lock, 1 key.

Watch House. 1 tabyll, 14 formis, 4 trestylls, 1 lock, 1 key.

Guynere Tower. 1 tabyll, 2 formis, 2 trestylls.

Koclycoste Tower. 1 formis, 2 trestylls, 1 lock, 1 key.

Clerk of the Chequer's Chamber. 1 formis, 2 trestylls, 1 lock, 1 key.

Marshall's Tower. 1 lock, 1 key.

In the Botre. A bar, 1 tabyll, 3 formis, 2 trestylls.

In the Pantry. 1 tabyll, 2 trestylls, 2 formis, 1 copbordis.

In the Seller. 1 tabyll, 4 trestylls, 3 formis, 2 copbordis, 1 lock, 1 key.

Queen's Groome Porters. 1 tabyll, 3 trestylls, 3 formis.

King's Wardrop of beddis. 2 formis and a stole.

Queen's Wardrop of beddis. 2 formis and a stole.

King's Wardrop of Robes. 2 tabylls, 4 trestylls, 1 forme, 1 lock, 1 key.

Smith's Forge. 1 tabyll, 2 trestylls, 3 formis, 3 long plankis, a fylyng borde, a lock and key.

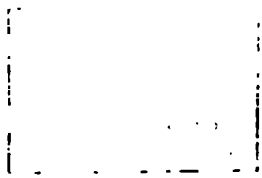
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Wardrop of ye Queen's robes. 3 tabylls, 4 trestylls, a forme, a lock and key.

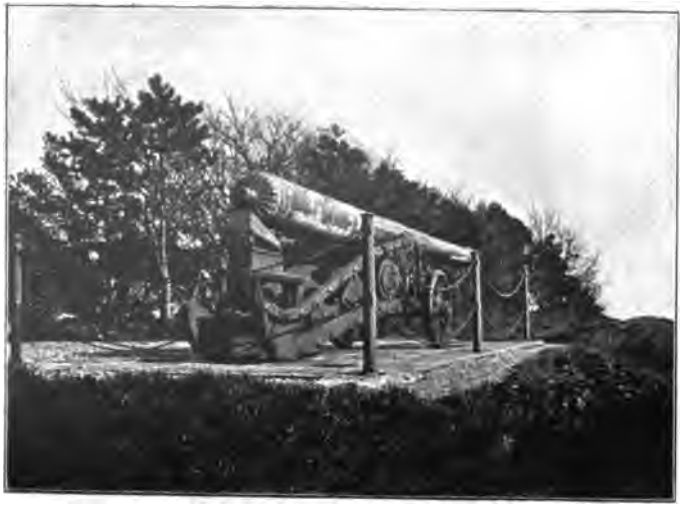
During Edward VI.'s short reign nothing seems to have been done to keep the Castle in a proper state, and Queen Mary was compelled to expend considerable sums upon its repair. During this reign the Constable, Sir Thomas Cheney, was harassed by continual calls for men for the defence of the only remaining English seaport on the French coast. He was finally instructed to select all the able-bodied men in the Cinque Ports and send them with the Castle garrison, leaving 100 men only, to Calais, to reinforce that town then closely besieged. As is well known a storm dispersed the fleet collected for their conveyance, and Calais was lost to England for ever.

Soon after Elizabeth ascended the throne (1563) the Warden, Lord Cobham, writes in the following terms to the lord chamberlain concerning the queen's visit to Dover: "I doe herewythe recommend unto your good Lordeshipp the state of Dover Castle. The Lodginges whereof I have seen and do ffynde them, by reason they have not been of Longe tyme Lyen in, to be bothe dampysse and mustey and thereffore verey necessarey that some (be) sent downe to make ffyers in the saide Lodginges a good while beffore her ma^ty^ come thether and to see the same bothe well eyred and sweeted ffor otherwyse they wilbe noysome unto her highnesse." Sir Thomas Hoby had already, two years before, communicated to Cecil his opinion on the state of the Castle, "it pains me to see the decay of so necessary and ancient a castle: the chiefest rooms are not kept from rain, which has pierced the very main timbers of the roof, although it has lead enough upon it, and only wants workmanship. Some offices have their roofs with the lead and all fallen down, which, with small reparation, might have been maintained, and

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QUEEN ELIZABETH'S "POCKET PISTOL".

From a photograph by Mr. H. Gibson.

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more will fall shortly, if remedy be not had." The queen did not make her expected visitation until 1573, and before her arrival considerable repairs were effected. Beauchamp, Hirst, "Withred," Mortimer, Colton and two other towers, Arthur's Hall, the gates, the north wall and "King Lucius' Church" were put in order in 1576. The armoury and the Duke of Suffolk and the Monk's Towers and several other parts of the defences in 1578. After the queen's visit in 1580 the Duke of Norfolk's Tower, or the "old sally," Mortimer, Ashford, St. John and Rokesley Towers, Arthur's Hall, the Pharos, and a "great breach" in the wall near the Coclico Tower were repaired. The sums expended on these works have come down to us, and it is therefore just to presume that Elizabeth, or her ministers, were determined to keep this ancient place of arms in a proper state of defence. Other work, of which no record survives, may reasonably be supposed to have been undertaken and carried out. In 1580 a severe earthquake threw down a portion of the cliff on which the Castle stands, and a part of the walls; the breach above referred to was probably caused by this *tremblement de terre*. It is generally believed that the handsome "long gun" still exhibited in the Castle was presented to Elizabeth by the States of Holland, and it bears the nickname of "Queen Elizabeth's pocket pistol". It was made by James Tolkys at Utrecht in 1544, is twenty-four feet long, and was considered capable of carrying a twelve-pound ball for seven miles. An inscription which it bears has been translated:—

> O'er hill and dale I'll throw my ball,
> Breaker my name of mound and wall.

In an old print of the Castle this gun may be seen standing in solitary glory upon the edge of the cliff, as though defying all and every enemy of England.

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Although James took some steps to keep the Castle in a state fit to repel an enemy's attack, in 1620, when Sir Henry Mainwaring was appointed Lieutenant of the Castle, the guns were "all dismounted, except those on cart-wheels". Sir Henry suggested that it would be wiser to keep all foreigners out of the gun-yard, and probably urged that necessary repairs should be made. In 1624-25 over £1000 were spent on the Castle, Moat's Bulwark, and Arcliffe Fort, the stone used being brought from Boulogne, Portland and Purbeck. This expenditure was caused by the king's policy which ended in a war with Spain, carried on in the Netherlands. Twelve thousand soldiers were gathered in Dover at the end of 1624 from all parts of England, and were sent across to Holland, where, "in a few weeks three-fourths of them were dead or dying". This large body of troops, just levied and ill-disciplined, caused much inconvenience in the town, "killing the sheep in abundance, and threatening to fire the town if left in want". Three thousand of them were sent to Folkestone, whose inhabitants did not appreciate the privilege.

Charles I. does not appear to have done much for the Castle, beyond repairing the "King's lodging in the square tower within the inner keep, and the most useful buildings and offices thereto adjoining" at an estimated cost of £2600. The king came to Dover in 1625 to meet his queen, when both made a short stay in the Castle. The need of money caused Charles to issue a patent to Colonel Coningsby to survey all forts and castles in England, and to disallow wages where he thought necessary. The colonel thrust himself into the Castle of Dover, but seems to have had his actions disallowed by the king, who heard the case, raised by the Warden, himself. Charles was again in Dover, with the Warden, in 1640, when the

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queen, with the crown jewels, and the Princess of Orange crossed over to Holland.

In 1642 the neglected state of the works, and the paltry garrison by which the Castle was held, made it a tempting prey to the bolder Parliamentarian spirits in Dover, which seems to have been peculiarly disaffected. A merchant of the town, named Daux, accompanied by ten civilians scaled the cliff on 20th August, and surprised the guard which consisted of only four men. They thinking that their assailants were more numerous than they really were, it being a very dark night, surrendered without resistance. The gates of the inner ward having been obtained by threats, the remaining soldiers to the number of sixteen also surrendered, and the Castle was thus secured for the rebels. Sir Edward Boys, M.P., was immediately sent with a sufficient force to defend the Castle against any Royalist attack, and in September he successfully resisted an effort made on behalf of the king to recapture it. Mr. Daux was then left in charge, and after a time began a secret traffic with the Royalists for the restoration of the Castle. In July, 1643, Parliament spent £200 in mending a breach in the wall, and an order was shortly afterwards issued forbidding the erection of buildings on the waste ground adjoining the Castle, "of dangerous consequence" to the fort. In 1648 the Royalists made another and more serious effort to retake the Castle. The following extracts from a pamphlet entitled *Mercurius Bellicus, or An Alarum to All Rebels*, announces, all too soon, the success of Sir Richard Hardred's attack upon the Castle. This officer had captured Deal, Walmer and Sandown Castles, and had, after communicating with the Royalists in the fleet, brought a force of 2000 men to Dover, and thrown up works against the north side of the Castle. Taking success for granted

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the author of the *Mercurius Bellicus* thus stirs up the enthusiasm of the "Blades of Kent": "March bravely on, Gentlemen of Kent; Surrey, Essex and Cornwall will not be long behind you". After a stirring exhortation to support the king, "who will soon take vengeance on the vile rebels at Westminster," he continues, "but what will the wretched things do now, or how will they escape the vengeance that waits upon them since their Vice-Admiral, that sea-hog Rainsborow, is kicked out of his commission by the valiant and ever-to-be-renowned Blades of Kent, who had once intended to have sent him on an embassage for them to the Court of Neptune, but the Monster made such supplication to them, and so earnestly besought them that they would not send him the way of all fish, that they altered their decree, and licensed him to ride upon ten toes up to London, and there to relate this news. They have taken into their protection 8 of H.M. best ships, who weary to be any longer subject to the command of traitors and rebels, willingly offered themselves unto them, and without that they have taken Dover Castle and forts, the Castles of Sandwich, Upnor and Deal, with Rochester and Chatham."

Unfortunately for the royal cause the Castle was defended by Sir Algernon Sidney; and General Fairfax, immediately on hearing of the rising, sent "a party of foot and horse" under Colonel Rich, who successfully dispersed the attacking party, who seem to have fled without striking a blow. The Parliamentarians in turn celebrated their victory by publishing an account of it in a pamphlet entitled *Two Great Victories, one at Dover against Sir Richard Hardred and 2000 officers and soldiers. The Blockhouses taken with 30 pieces of ordnance by Colonel Rich. The Castle relieved, and the enemy pursued.* The account given in this pamphlet

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is as follows: "Sir Richard Hardred had, besides his 2000 expressed in my last, some horse from those that left Rochester, designed to have joined with him, and he had possessed himself of the Block Houses, and the ordnance, and powder, match and other ammunition, wherewith he presently fell to execution. It is said he made about five hundred shots against the Castle with the ordnance of the Block Houses, where he had planted most of them against the Castle, and they began to be very high and insolent. But they are all gone now, the siege raised, and Colonel Rich, Sir Miles Livesey and other forces, etc., is possessed of the Town and Block Houses, and all their quarters, and have taken all their ordnance which was in the Block Houses to the number of about 36, and Sir R. Hardred is withdrawn and fled."

The Castle was held, with a slightly varying garrison until General Monk placed it in the hands of the Earl of Winchelsea for the king in 1660.

In 1660, on the king's restoration, the following establishment was laid down for the garrison of Dover Castle and Moat's Bulwark, *viz.*: "The Governor, who in his absence is to appoint a Deputy Governor. The whole Garrison is manned with two companies consisting of two Captains, whereof the Governor to be one at 8/ *per diem*, two lieutenants at 4/ *per diem*, two Ensigns at 3/, four sergeants at 1s. 6d. *per diem*, 6 Corporals, each 1/, two drummers each at 10d., and 200 soldiers each at 8d. *per diem*. One Gunner at 1s. 6d. *per diem*, two Gunner's Mates at 1/, 4 Matrosses at 10d. *per diem*, fire and candles 3d. *per diem*." The Governor of Dover Castle is to take care that Moat's Bulwark is always supplied out of the two companies before mentioned, with thirty men and an officer. Arcliffe Bulwark was to be maintained with "a Captain, who was also to be

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Governor, at 8/ *per diem*, 1 lieutenant at 4/, 1 Ensign at 3/, 1 Sergeant at 1/6, 2 Corporals at 1/, and 60 soldiers at 8d. *per diem*, 1 Drummer at 10d., 1 Gunner at 1/6, 2 Matrosses at 10d., Fire and Candles at 6d.". As soon as it was evident that the Restoration was firmly established, an order was issued, 25th June, 1661, reducing the garrison of the Castle to the Lord Warden, one Gentleman Gunner and seventeen gunners, and Moat's Bulwark to one captain, a lieutenant, a master gunner and twelve gunners. Richard Woodward, junior, was appointed captain of Moat's Bulwark at one shilling and eightpence per diem, and the soldiers were to receive sixpence a day. The mayor and inhabitants of Dover and Kent appealed against this reduction on the grounds that "in the late distractions the Castle and ordinary Garrison were surprised by a small party, and possessed all alone by the enemy, who kept the Royalists in continual slavery. They fear a like surprise again." Whether this petition, which was numerously signed, had any great effect we have not been able to discover, but in September, 1662, a sum of £175 8s. 4d. was paid for beds at Dover Castle, which seems a large sum for the reduced garrison. In 1671 reference is made to one of the men "who surprised the Castle in 1642," as a ringleader in a riot in the town, which the deputy governor was called upon to quell. During the plague in 1666 the garrison endeavoured to frighten it away by lighting big fires, firing guns, and ringing bells. We have no records which enable us to say what was the mortality among the soldiers during that terrible year. In 1670 Charles II. signed the famous, or infamous as some deem it, secret treaty with the King of France, which was negotiated in the Castle.

Two letters from the Mayor of Dover, William Stokes, M.P., are in existence, written to Lord Preston. The

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first, dated 6th November, 1688, was to the following effect: "I am given to understand by Colonel Tooke, Deputy Governor of Dover Castle, that the King wishes the trained bands of this town to be sent to Dover Castle to guard 200 prisoners lately taken at sea by H.M.S. *Swallow*. The drum is now beating to raise both companies, but Dover Castle is out of the liberties of the Ports, and Portsmen are never called out of their own liberties. I am always willing to discharge my duty to his Majesty, but I hope that the need of the services of these companies may soon cease." This letter was endorsed "Dismissed as soon as possible". The second letter was dated 9th December of the same year, and refers to an incident in the history of the Castle hitherto overlooked. It gives an account of how some of the townspeople took the Castle on 8th December. It appears that about thirty of them assembled in the Market Place, proclaiming that they had heard that some Irish troops were on the road to Dover, and that it had been arranged for the French to land. They were determined to secure the Castle, and, in spite of the mayor's remonstrances, had marched up and remained there. The next morning the mayor went up to the Castle and endeavoured to persuade them to come down. The letter ends with the expression of his hope that "they will soon lessen their fears and go back quietly to their homes" (H. MSS. Com., 7, 421). In the following year the sequel to this bloodless victory is found in the State Papers. A petition is preserved from Lazarus Thornton and Matthew Downe, seaman and master of vessels; John Knight, Nicholas Boyket, brewer; Joseph Streater, soldier; Joseph Fines and Thomas Taunton, bakers, stating that they on 8th December, 1688, seized Dover Castle for King William, and maintained in it at their

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own charge nearly 300 men, and finally delivered the Castle to Colonel Wickfield; for which service the king, in a letter dated 17th December, promised a recompense. The petitioners pray that employment may be given them either in the army or the navy. The petition is endorsed, "those of the sea employed in Navy in suitable places". In December, 1689, £132 14s. 6d. was spent on the Castle to make it suitable for the detention of prisoners of war until they were exchanged. A report on the Castle in that year still exists which describes it as "so ruined that there is no place habitable without repairs. The gun carriages are mostly rotten, and there are many guns without carriages. 18 gunners belong to it, but there are no soldiers in it. There is great need in time of war to have 2 companies in it. In Arcliff Fort the houses, walls and platforms want repairing. In Moat's Bulwark the house and platform also want repairing, and many of the gun carriages are defective." In the following year a second memorandum on the defective state of the Castle defences was sent in to the Government. We have not been able to find any answer to these appeals, although certain sums must have been spent to prevent the whole structure from falling into absolute ruin.

During Marlborough's wars the Castle was used as a place of confinement for prisoners, "many of whose names may still be seen cut on the walls of the keep, especially in King John's Chapel". It is said that 1500 were kept there, under very inadequate supervision, and greatly contributed to the destruction of the buildings. Stukeley, whose views of the Castle in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* are a marvel of imagination, found the whole place "a prey to the ravages of time and the negligence of succeeding ages". That this was no exaggera-

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tion is witnessed by the views published by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck about 1735, in which the ruinous state of most of the buildings is plainly visible. When the Government first turned its serious attention to the restoration of the Castle about the middle of the century they must have found it necessary to spend a very considerable sum in rendering it even habitable. From that date until the present time an ever-increasing care has been taken of the ancient and interesting mass of buildings, and although many disfiguring "improvements" have been permitted, the Castle is now one of the most beautiful relics of ancient days remaining in the country. As a result of the visit of the Duke of Cumberland in 1745, barracks were built on the site of the present drill ground. New batteries were also constructed—one for four guns near the church, and another for six guns where "Bell Battery" is. Alterations were also made at the old salient constructed by de Burgo after the siege in 1226. The Keep wall was repaired by a casing of masonry, which fell down about 1807, and was replaced by a coating of cement. This cement in its turn fortunately fell off, and the walls were thoroughly repaired at a comparatively recent date. The king's chapel in the keep was blocked up about the same time and used as a store. It was reopened in 1836, but still lacks a floor.

In 1779, England being at war, not only with her American colonies, but also with France and Spain, fears were entertained of an invasion, and Dover was hastily placed in an extra state of defence. In the summer of 1779 the first earthwork was thrown up on the western heights. The work was chiefly done by military labour, procured from the militia regiments. In 1780 £1200 was spent on Arcliffe Fort and £2200 in building the powder magazine in Dover Castle. In 1785 a large

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instrument was fixed to one of the keep towers to enable the surveyors of England and France to connect the triangulations of both countries. The first company of Royal Military Artificers was raised in the Castle in the same year. Considerable repairs were made in the Castle in 1793, and in the next year further accommodation was found for troops in the old church in the Castle. In 1794 Guildford Shaft was commenced and finished in 1795. The Castle was at that time supposed to contain accommodation for 724 men. The modern alterations visible in the Debtors' Prison were made in the same year, and the present gateway and caponiere at Canon's Gate were constructed. The spur was also extensively altered, and its present form is much what it was in 1795. Hudson's Bastion, the east demi-bastion and other works on the east front, including the caponieres and galleries, were completed about the same time. The cliff casemates were also finished at this date, and the C.R.E. reported that they "exceeded his expectations both in point of solidity and dryness".

In 1798 the new road to the Castle was handed over to the trustees of the Dover and Deal public road, and the hospital was built at a cost of £2109.

In 1800 the Castle was armed with 211 pieces of ordnance, which included twenty-eight mortars, four ten-inch howitzers and one eight-inch howitzer, forty-four carronades, ten of which were sixty-eight pounds; seventy-four guns, ten amusettes and fifty wall pieces.

In 1802 the bomb-proof guardroom, passages and hanging doors, with "a proper drawbridge" in the spur, were constructed, and the ravelin cut to its present slope.

Beyond the necessary repairs little else was undertaken in the Castle until modern times. In 1855 machinery for pumping water was first fixed, and Fort

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Burgoyne was commenced some six years later. The erection of the new officers' mess, married quarters and canteen have all taken place since that date. In 1855 the British Swiss Legion was stationed in the Castle, and in succession to that regiment several infantry battalions were quartered there. The Royal Garrison Artillery have for some years been permanently quartered in its barracks, and the beautiful state in which it is kept is a testimony to their appreciation of this venerable and beautiful Castle.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE OFFICERS OF THE CASTLE.

CONSTABLE, LIEUTENANT, MARSHAL, BODER, GATEKEEPER, GUNNER, AND OTHER OFFICERS.

The Constable.

THE two offices of Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle have generally been supposed to have been held by one individual from the very earliest times. This is a mistake, the office of Constable being of much greater antiquity. The first authoritative mention of the office of Warden ("*Custos Quinque Portuum*") is in the reign of Henry III., and we believe that before that time no such office existed. John de Fenes is generally spoken of as hereditary Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of the Castle, but the transcript of the document on which his claims to either office rest distinctly states that he was made Constable and nothing else: "*Int' Cetera Constabulariam Cast' Dovorie in p'petuū feod̄ contulit D'no de Fenes*". The earliest documents of unimpeachable authority are the Pipe Rolls of Henry II., and in them we find mention of a Constable of the Castle, but no reference to a Warden. The Patent Rolls commence early in the reign of King John, and here again we find references to a Constable but none to the "custos" of the five ports. So far as we can discover the officer who in the earliest times exercised authority

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over the ports was the "*Custos maritimæ regionis*," who may with some probability be considered the descendant of the ancient "*Comes litoris Saxonici*". In 1213 a "*Custos portuum Kanciæ*" is mentioned, but that cannot be strained into meaning Warden of the Cinque Ports. The evidence of the Patent and Close Rolls tends to prove that until towards the end of the reign of Henry III. the office and authority of the Warden was not fully established, and we believe that it was the charter of Edward I. which really laid the foundation of his future greatness. It would be easy to quote very numerous letters patent which, in our opinion, fully confirm these statements, but the question really concerns the historian of the Cinque Ports rather than that of Dover Castle. We content ourselves with saying that the first Constable of the Castle whose appointment as joint Warden of the Ports is beyond dispute was William d'Averanche, who, with Henry Turgis, was given the custody of the Cinque Ports on 12th March, 1226.

As from this date the two offices were generally held by one individual, it will be necessary to consider what duties and privileges appertained to each.

In considering the office of Warden it must be remembered that his *raison d'être* was the existence of certain privileges granted to a special confederation of ports on condition that they performed a well-defined service to the State. His first duty, therefore, was to see that this service was performed, and that the franchises granted were not encroached upon or exceeded. In earlier times, when England was ruled by kings who claimed authority over a goodly portion of France, the Warden was frequently called upon to act in a military and naval capacity, and we therefore find among the names of the Wardens many distinguished commanders on field and sea. The

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charter of Edward I. gave the Warden the right, "when the said Barons shall fail in justice to be done," to enter into the Ports and their Liberties and "do there full justice". As time went on this power was gradually increased, at first the Warden presided over the court, and then, eventually, became the court itself. So that as his military importance waned his judicial importance waxed greater. In Tudor days the value of the office was vastly increased by the Wardens usurping the rights of the freemen and returning to Parliament, on their own nomination, one member at least for each port, and on some occasions they actually returned the whole number. By these means the importance of the Lord Warden was maintained at a time when his judicial functions were beginning to sink into insignificance. When the Reform Act and the Municipal Corporations Act were passed this source of power was taken away, and practically every vestige of administrative authority has vanished under the advance of centralised government. The office of Lord Warden is now, and has been for many years, a merely honourable appointment, given to some distinguished servant of the State as a reward for his services. It will be seen, therefore, that in the earlier days of our history the Warden was a king's officer invested with duties important in safeguarding the kingdom; later he became of importance chiefly to the Cinque Ports alone, owing to his judicial functions; still later he exercised a power which made him of importance to the governing authority; whilst, latterly, it has become an office of personal importance to the Lord Warden himself, being, as it is, a recognition of his merits and services to the country. It may be stated that the title "Lord" Warden was not used until the sixteenth century, and then seems to have become customary owing to the fact that so many

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Wardens were noblemen. The appointment was strictly that of "Warden of the Five Ports".

Without going quite so far as Lyon, who says that the duties of the Constable when acting in his own franchises were "similar to the functions of the Lord High Constable of England," we may believe that it was a very important and responsible office. Originally it was a purely military position, and the duties were confined to the Castle itself, and when the Lord Warden and Constable were represented in one individual the duties of the latter were carried out by a Lieutenant of the Constable. A variety of titles have been used to represent those to whom the Warden delegated his authority, the most common being Deputy of the Warden, Lieutenant and Deputy-lieutenant of the Castle. The title *locum tenens* of the king seems to have been given to those who carried on the duties of both Warden and Constable during the interval which elapsed between the death or deprivation of one Warden and the appointment of another. From the first appointment of a Constable until the end of the eighteenth century this officer was responsible for the defence and safety of the Castle. During the period when the fortress was protected under the castle-guard tenure system it was his duty to see that all the holders of knights' fees, given for that purpose, performed their service with regularity and efficiency; and when a fixed payment was substituted for personal service he was entrusted with the collecting of those sums which were due for "castle ward". In the reign of Henry III. we find that commissions were issued to others besides the Constable to receive and distrain for the sums due for their service, but this may be ascribed to the unsettled state of the realm. A certain fine was levied every day the "ward" was in arrears, and several instances could

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be quoted of the fine being assessed and paid. In 1405, for instance, "Simon de Chahale, in default of Ward for Dover Castle, was fined 2s. a day for 12 days. He paid 24s." Henry VIII. in 1523 took into his own hands all the manors formerly held of Dover Castle. The rents were in future to be paid into the king's exchequer on 28th October, or within fifteen days after, under a penalty of paying double for every omission. If what Lyon relates be true, this must have been a great relief to the tenants, for anterior to Henry's time it had been customary to receive the rents in the Castle on a fixed day. A special flag was hoisted on the keep, and if any tenant failed to pay his rent before the flag was hauled down at sunset his rent was doubled. Every time the tide flowed eastward a similar penalty was enacted until the rent was paid. We can give no authority for this statement beyond Lyon's *History of Dover*, and every reader must place his own value on his assertions.

A duty of great importance was the selection and control of the Castle guard. The ancient system of providing for the defence of the Castle by various knights who lived within its boundaries in a prescribed rotation seems to have been succeeded by a somewhat similar method. The paid watchmen, who were all sworn in on their first admission, spent only a portion of their time in the Castle. A fixed number, which differed considerably at various periods, was always employed in performing the garrison duties; but after a certain number of weeks they were allowed to return to their homes in various parts of the county, and were succeeded by a different set or company of watchmen. The men so employed were free from all forced civil employment as constables or watchmen or any office which required personal attendance, and more than one instance can

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be quoted of members of the Castle guard claiming exemption from such duties. As late as the reign of James I. this system of an in-guard and out-guard was in existence, and a record of the appeal of John Swanton, "a sworn watchman and guardian of His Majesty's Castle of Dover," against his appointment as a constable of Folkestone, may still be read. He was dismissed from serving the office of constable, and the justices ordered that such persons as were engaged in the king's service should be exempt from any civil office which required personal attendance. The same exemption exists throughout the realm to the present day.

The Constable as commander of the garrison was responsible for the discipline of the place and possessed all authority for dealing with the most extreme cases.

He also presided over a Court Baron and Court of Wards. The judgments of the latter could be enforced in any part of England against those holding lands originally granted for the defence of the Castle. Several Constables endeavoured to extend the jurisdiction of their courts, and had to be restrained by royal and parliamentary edicts.

It should be noted that in addition to the Castle guard a number of soldiers were quartered in the Castle. The strength of this force varied considerably, at one time it would be 1000, at others all soldiers were withdrawn and the watch kept entirely by the guard. In times of peace the complement of soldiers was at its lowest, and in times of danger or threatened invasion the size of the garrison was naturally increased.

The military office of the Constable fell into abeyance during the latter half of last century, but writs for the arrest of debtors were addressed to him and were executed by the boder for a considerable time after his authority

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over the garrison had waned. By 1800, however, it may be said that the office had become a merely honorary one with certain emoluments attached to it.

The Constable was also coroner for the Castle precincts, but this privilege also fell into disuse, and the coroner for the county held his inquests on members of the garrison about 1800.

Lieutenant of the Castle.

This officer was, as his title indicates, the assistant of the Constable, and carried out his instructions. He probably had certain fixed duties, but we are not able to say with any certainty what they were. At one time it was customary for him to receive the keys of the Castle after the guard for the night had been mounted, and this was continued until the end of the seventeenth century, when it was discontinued on an officer commanding the regiment garrisoning the fortress objecting to it.

The Marshal.

This officer was originally in charge of the prison, and in early times received ivd. from every prisoner. He seems also to have had charge of the watch setting every night. In later days, when the Castle Prison became the recognised place of confinement for offenders against the law throughout the liberties of the Cinque Ports, the office was considerably augmented in importance, and became one of some emolument. From the Rolls of Parliament of 2 Henry IV. we find that the marshal was entitled to receive vjs. viijd. per night for every person imprisoned in the Castle. He also received a fixed stipend. In 1487 James Isaac received the appointment of "Marshal of Dover Castle and Keeper of the Artillery with the ancient and usual wage and fees from the issues of the Castle". The fixed salary about

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1450 was £6 13s. 4d. per annum. We have not discovered when the office ceased to exist.

The Boder.

A very ancient office in the Castle, and frequent references are to be found to various persons holding it in the records of the various ports. His chief duties seem to have consisted in executing the warrants of the Warden and Constable's courts, and he was also in charge of the prison called Hermann's Hutch. When that name fell into disuse it was called the Boder's House. Professor Burrows says: "Dover having become the centre of the judicial system of the Portsmen, and the Castle Prison the prison of the Ports, the Lord Warden was officially cognizant of the trials at which prisoners were committed; many of the minor causes which used to come before the Court of Shepway were settled by him, and the Boder [Bidder], or Summoner of the Ports, stationed at Dover, became practically his officer". The first appointment we have discovered is that of "Ralph Spray, king's sergeant," in 1309, and he was ordered to "make provision for the King and Queen". Richard de Dover was appointed "Bodere" in 1331, and, if he was the Richard de Dover, a baron by tenure, who died about the same time as the boder, it proves that at that time the office was one of importance. In 1333 a grant was made to Alexander Hartyn of the "bailiewick called Bodour in Dover Castle". In 1381 "Robert Compnore, the king's ferreter," was appointed boder, and in 1488 "William Crowmer, Esq.," received a gift of the office of "Bowder". The office has been described as that of sergeant-at-arms, but in 1382 a separate appointment was made of an official bearing that title. In a list of officials given in a manuscript in the British Museum

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(add. 19,990) the boder and sergeant-at-arms both appear. It is highly probable that in earlier days the boder was the summoner of the ports, the office degenerating in later days to that of a bailiff.

The Gatekeeper.

This was also an ancient office, which seems later on to have been termed "Gentleman Porter". The porters or gatekeepers are mentioned as early as the reign of Henry II. in the Pipe Rolls. The charge of the gate of the keep was originally the most honourable position, but in 1487 Nicholas Dounton, "Yeoman of the King's Crown," was appointed gatekeeper of Dover Castle, with the office of keeper of "le dongeon," with all "sums, customs, fees and emoluments" belonging to the position. The establishment of porters seems to have been one gatekeeper and four porters.

The Gunner.

An officer was appointed, after the introduction of artillery, whose duty it was to see that the ordnance was kept in proper condition, and served properly during an action. His title varied, but the office existed in a modified form until the present century.

Other Officers.

The Rector and Coclico Chaplains were officers of the Castle, and several others existed whose titles will explain their employments. They were the King's Victualler, who provided the rations for the troops; the Clerk of the Exchequer; the Keeper of the archives; the Steward; the Clerk; and the Warrener of the King's Warren, which at one time covered an extensive tract of country near Dover. Several other minor officials existed, such as the Keeper of the Warden's wild beasts, the Chief of the

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Warden's minstrels, and the Castle Court servant. Of all the officers connected with the Castle one only survives who still performs his duties, and that is the Chaplain. A clerk of Dover Castle is still appointed, but as he is an officer of the Constable, whose authority in the Castle is merely nominal, his duties are not numerous. The present clerk is Mr. E. W. Knocker, who was appointed by Lord Granville in 1876.

The following list of Constables will be found to differ considerably from those hitherto published, especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We dare not hope that it is entirely correct, but no name has been included without some reliable authority to support it. Godwin and Harold, who generally appear as "Lord Wardens" have been omitted, because, although they undoubtedly had possession of the Castle, we do not believe they ever exercised the office of Constable in the sense in which we understand it. For similar reasons the name of William Longchamp and several others have been left out. The stormy reign of Henry III. presents many difficulties, but we believe that the list for his reign is fairly accurate. It was intended to give an account of each of the Lieutenants mentioned, and a considerable amount of information was gathered for that purpose, but the want of space made it impossible to carry out this design. It is not pretended that the Constable's Deputies mentioned in the following pages are all who held the office, many others were certainly appointed, and further research would probably discover them. The notices of the later Wardens have been confined to their political or other state services, as the office was bestowed upon them on those grounds.

The following is a list of the Constables omitted for

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want of sufficient evidence to warrant our including them :—

Leopoldus de Bertie,	*t.* Æthelred II. (*Hayden*).
Godwin, Earl of Kent,	*t.* Edward the Confessor.
Harold, Earl of Kent,	*t.* Edward the Confessor.
Bertram de Ashburnham,	*t.* Harold.
William Peverel,	*t.* William I.
William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke,	*t.* William I.
Richard, Earl of Eu,	*t.* Stephen.
Henry de Essex, Lord Raleigh,	*t.* Stephen.
Alan de Fenes,	*t.* Henry II.
James de Fenes,	*t.* Henry II.
William Devereux,	*t.* Richard I.
William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely,	*t.* Richard I.
William de Mandeville,	*t.* Richard I.
William de Fenes,	*t.* John.
John Mansel,	*t.* Henry III.
Peter de Rivalis,	*t.* Henry III.
Ingelram de Fenes,	*t.* Henry III.
John de Grey,	*t.* Henry III.
William de Say,	*t.* Henry III.
Edward and Robert Gascoyne,	*t.* Henry III.
Simon de Sandwich,	*t.* Henry III.
Ralph de Sandwich,	*t.* Edward I.
Simon de Cray,	*t.* Edward I.
Ralph Camoys (given as Comays),	*t.* Edward II.
John, Lord Cobham,	*t.* Edward II.
John de Lancaster,	*t.* Edward III.
Otho de Grandisono,	*t.* Edward III.
Guy Saint Clere,	*t.* Edward III.
Henry, Lord Cobham,	*t.* Richard II.
Simon Montford,	*t.* Edward IV.
Richard, Duke of Gloucester,	*t.* Edward V.
Arthur, Lord de Lisle,	*t.* Henry VIII.
Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick,	*t.* Charles I.
John Desborough,	*t.* Commonwealth.
Charles Fleetwood,	*t.* Commonwealth.

Several of the above were connected with the Cinque Ports, or the town of Dover, and some were perhaps

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DOVER CASTLE FROM THE SEA, 1899.

From a photograph by Mr. H. Gibson.

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Lieutenants of the Castle. Peter de Rivalis was Custos of the Port of Dover; "Edward and Robert Gascoyne" was evidently a mistake for Prince Edmund and Robert de Glaston. Lord de Lisle and the Earl of Warwick were admirals, but not Constables of Dover Castle.

The difficult question of who held the office of Constable during the reigns of the Norman kings has been recently treated by Mr. J. H. Round in *The Commune of London and Other Studies* (pp 278-282), but we have unfortunately been unable to consult his book as it was in the press at the time of the publication of this volume. The hereditary Constableship of the Fenes is quite discredited by Mr. Round, and the evidence in support of it is not great; but in the absence of any reliable proof we have included several of them in the following roll. Any reader interested in this subject should consult Mr. Round's new work.

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CHAPTER XIV.

A LIST OF THE CONSTABLES OF DOVER CASTLE, WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF EACH.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Kent.

1066-1084.

He was the son of Herluin of Conteville by Herleva the daughter of a tanner of Falaise, the concubine of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and mother of William the Conqueror. Odo was made Bishop of Bayeux by his half-brother in 1049, and was one of the council that assembled at Lillebonne in 1066 to consider whether England should be invaded. He was strongly in favour of the enterprise, and supported it with 160 ships. He was present at the battle of Senlac, and rallied the Norman knights when twice driven back from their attack. After his coronation William made Odo Earl of Kent, and, when he returned to Normandy early in 1067, he left him and William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, as vice-regents. Odo was given the custody of Dover Castle, and, as he was responsible for the communications with the continent, the charge of the south-eastern coast. His rule was extremely harsh, and culminated in a rebellion of the men of Kent, which was fiercely subdued. He was a rapacious as well as a harsh ruler, and did not spare Church property any more than he did that belonging to laymen. He came into conflict with the Archbishop of Canterbury by seizing

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Sandwich and its lucrative customs during the disgrace of Stigand, but was eventually obliged to restore it to Lanfranc. When he was sent to punish the men of Northumberland for the murder of their bishop, he harried the whole county, and innocent and guilty alike suffered. He hoped to be elected Pope and built a palace at Rome. The king, hearing of his intention to go there, hurried across the channel and arrested him with his own hands as all else were afraid to. He was deprived of all his honours and imprisoned at Rouen for four years. He was released by William II., and attended the funeral of William the Conqueror. He was reinstated as Earl of Kent by the new king, against whom he conspired. He held Rochester Castle against William "the Red King," after plundering the greater part of the county, when the barons rebelled in 1087. William called upon the English to aid him, and they responded to his call in great numbers. When, after a six weeks' siege, Odo surrendered, the English with loud cries of "Bring halters" desired that he should be immediately executed. The king, however, contented himself with banishing the bishop from England, and he retired to Normandy, where he ended his life in 1097.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Burrows, *Cinque Ports*; Gardiner, *History of England.*]

John de Fenes (*Fiennes*).

Circ. 1084.

He was the third son of Eustache, Earl of Boulogne, by Alice, daughter of Silvesse, Lady of Ardres. He was a brother of Conan de Fenes who in 1012 was Earl of Boulogne; and Eustache of Boulogne, therefore, whose name is so closely connected with Dover, was his father. Of his life nothing at all is known,

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but according to mediæval tradition, founded on documentary evidence perhaps, he is stated to have been appointed Constable of Dover Castle, with the right of succession to the office for his heirs male. A copy of a document, about the time of Elizabeth, exists in the British Museum, and it is therein stated that "William, Duke of Normandy, after that he had by conquest acquired the Kingdom of England bestowed many 'honours' upon his companions and nobles. Amongst others he endowed the Lord de Fenes with the Constableship of Dover Castle in perpetual fee. He also gave the same Lord 56½ knights' fees." Darell, who claimed to write his narrative of the Castle from "ancient records, which the right honourable William Brook, Lord Cobham, governor of the castle, and *splendidissimi homines* William Crisp and Roger Norington, who have commands in the Castle, were pleased to favour me with the sight of," gives the following account of John de Fenes, "John died in Normandy, in the eighteenth year of William's reign, much regretted and esteemed both by the King and his fellow subjects". If this be true he either exercised his authority for a very short time, or, what is more probable, the Castle was given into his charge at some period anterior to the disgrace of Odo.

Sir Edward Dering, Lieutenant of the Castle in 1629, says that Stanorge, Lieutenant of Lord Fenes, built a sally for knights near St. John's Tower in the time of William I.

[Add. MSS. 34, 146, 147, 148, B.M.; Darell; Pedigree of Saye and Sele.]

James de Fenes.

1048-1111.

The eldest son of John succeeded his father in the hereditary office of Constable of the Castle. He has

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been described as one who "endeared himself to all by his incredible gallantry in the field, as well as by his strong wisdom and integrity exhibited as a minister of the State". He died at Folkestone in the year 1111, "much regretted, as appeared in a particular manner at his funeral".

[Lambarde; Darell.]

John de Fenes.
1111-1148.

The son of James, who continued to exercise his office until the death of Henry I. Stephen claiming the crown, Fenes held the Castle against him in the interests of the late king's daughter, Matilda, formerly married to the Emperor Henry V., but then the wife of Geoffrey Plantaganet. It is impossible to discover what really happened in the Castle during the civil discord which raged in England until 1148. It may be that Stephen was unable to reduce the Castle, engaged as he was with David of Scotland, the siege of Bristol, and his quarrel with the clergy until 1147, when his power began to permanently establish itself. On the other hand, Matthew Paris says that it was surrendered to Stephen's queen by "Walkelines" in 1138. This Walkelines was

Walkelin, Baron Mamignot,

a descendant of William Mamignot, who received certain lands on castle-guard tenure from William I., and who may have been in the Castle performing his annual service. He married Juliana, daughter of the Earl of Derby, and is reported to have given up the Castle at the instigation of his father-in-law.

John Fenes was dispossessed of his office and estates by Stephen, after he had crushed all opposition, about the year 1148. Jeake has the following note, "Some say

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Eustace, Earl of Bolloigne, had the office in the reign of Henry I.". What is more probable is that Stephen placed his son

Prince Eustace,

a rough and overbearing man, in charge of this important fortress. No official records of the period exist, and we can only conjecture, not write with any certainty. The prince died in 1153, and Stephen was reconciled to Henry of Anjou. Philipot, whose list of Wardens was evidently drawn up from authentic documents, gives "Walkelin de Mamignot" as the sole official of the Castle at this period, and thus bears out a tradition that he was rewarded for his treachery by receiving the constableship during Stephen's reign, flying to the continent on the accession of Henry II. His name occurs, however, in the Pipe Rolls of Henry's reign, and he must have made his peace with the new king. The names of William, Earl of Pembroke, captured at the battle of Wilton by the Empress Maud; Richard, Earl of Eu; and Henry, Baron Essex, are all mentioned as having been in charge of the Castle. It is probable that they were in some way connected with it, but the authority for placing their names in the list of Constables is so doubtful that we have thought it better to leave them out.

[Matthew Paris; Darell; Drake; Jeake; Lyon; Knocker.]

Robert Fitz-Bernard.

Circ. 1165-1168.

With the accession of Henry II. we have the unimpeachable authority of the Pipe Rolls to assist us in forming a conclusion as to who exercised authority in the Castle during his reign and that of his successor, whilst from the beginning of the reign of King John the

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Patent and other Rolls enable us to make a practically accurate list. It has generally been believed, chiefly on the authority of Philipot and Darell, that *Alan* and *James Fenes* were Constables until the reign of John, who, by the advice of Hubert de Burgo, put an end to the hereditary system. The mediæval document already referred to has the following passage: "*Tandem Rex et magnates sui considerantes non esse tutum alienigenam et alteris Regis hominem habere Custod' principalis Castri tot' regni', fecerunt gratu' dicto D'no de Fenes alibi, et ita recessit de officio Constabularie. Et D'n's Hubertus de Burgo Comes Kancie factus est Constabular' Castri*". It has therefore been supposed that the heads of the Fenes' family held the office of Constable until 1202, when Hubert de Burgo was undoubtedly granted that important post. The evidence of the Pipe Rolls seems to be, however, sufficiently clear to overthrow this theory. The soldiers, watchmen and porters are paid by the Crown, and, on several occasions, the Constable is mentioned by name. The names of Alan or James Fenes do not occur once. It is quite in accordance with the probability of things that Henry II., on coming to the throne, should wish to keep so important a fortress in his own hands; and, when we consider the important alterations he made in it, probability becomes almost a certainty. William Cade, who was also *Præpositus* of Dover, and may have been Constable of the Castle as well, was Sheriff of Kent at the beginning of the reign, and returned the accounts for the county. He was succeeded by Robert Fitz-Bernard, who is referred to as Constable. A certain amount of building was carried on during the years 1168 to 1175, a sum of over £400 being expended. It is not clear what the work was, it may be that the three towers on the south side of the defences were added. Robert

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de Kent, William de Poppeshala and the Prior of Dover are all mentioned in connection with these works.

[*Pipe Rolls.*]

Hugo de Mara.

1169- ——.

He succeeded Fitz-Bernard as Constable, and was employed for several years. Beyond the mere fact of his having been Constable we have found no other item of information about him.

[*Pipe Rolls.*]

Alan de Valeines.

1187.

In 1185 he was Sheriff of Kent, having succeeded William Fitz-Nigel and William Fitz-Philip, who returned the account for the previous year. In 1187 he received £60 for one year and a half's pay "*ad se et suos sustentand' in custod' turris de Douva. p. b. Regis*". In 1188 he received £76 2s. 6d. for the custody of the "Castellum de Douva," and in 1189 sixty marks for the same purpose. Philip de Pisinges, Godwin Fitz-Amfride, Walter de Estreda, Joseph de Dover, William Fitz-Helte and William de Enemeda are all mentioned in connection with building the Keep and curtain wall around, but the two latter seem to have been in charge of the works. They received a gift of forty shillings for their support in the year 1189. He held two knights' fees in Buckinghamshire, and succeeded his father in 1199 as owner of the "lands of Walingford".

[*Pipe Rolls; Obt. Rolls.*]

Matthew de Clera.

Circ. 1189-1194.

He is mentioned as being in charge of the Castle in 1194, and received twenty marcs for himself and £20

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for the munition of the Castle. In 1192 William Mansel received £29 for the work in the fortress. Matthew de Clera was a connection of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and by his direction made a forcible entry into St. Martin's Priory and took Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, prisoner, and confined him in the Castle.

[*Pipe Rolls.*]

William de Wrotham.

1195.

The names of William d'Everus; William Longchamp; Hugh, Baron Essex; William d'Albemarle; Simon d'Averanche; and William de Wrotham are all given as Constables of the Castle in the various lists, but we have discovered no authority which enables us to include any of them in the roll of Constables with any certainty. William Longchamp, as Chancellor, had a good deal to do with the Castle, but it is not at all likely that he occupied so insignificant a position as Constable. On his disgrace in 1191 Prince John secured the control of affairs until the return of the king, when Hugh Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, was made Chief Justiciar. William de Wrotham is given by Philipot, and by every other historian as Constable, and as, in all probability, one or more Constables were appointed between Matthew de Clera and Thomas Basset, we have added his name as being the most likely to have held the office.

Thomas Basset, Lord of Hedendon.

Circ. 1202.

On the 21st March, 1202, a writ was issued to him to the following effect: "Know that we have given to our beloved and faithful Hubert de Burgo, our Chamberlain, the Castle of Dover with all pertaining to it, during our pleasure". It is therefore certain that he was in charge

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of the Castle at that date, but when his appointment was made we have no evidence to show. He went from Dover to Oxford Castle, and was also sheriff of the county. He is said to have been a favourite of King John's, and was with him in his expedition to Poitou. He held one knight's fee in Alstamfield, and half the town belonged to him. Hedendon was the family seat, but he possessed the manor of Sideton and the lands of Scasfield. He joined the baronial party against the king, and his estates were given to Ralph de Bray. It is said that he was in command at the battle of Lincoln. He was a younger son of Thomas Basset, Lord of Weldon.

[*Pat. Rolls; Historic Peerage.*]

Hubert de Burgo, Earl of Kent.

I. 27th May, 1202, to 15th September, 1203.
II. 25th June, 1215, to 8th August, 1232.

This eminent soldier and statesman held an important position in the kingdom during the reigns of three kings. He was employed by Richard I., and on his death quickly sprang into notoriety. He was sent by John as ambassador to Portugal to treat with the king of that country for his daughter in marriage. On his return he was made Chamberlain. Later on he was sent to guard the Welsh Marches with a hundred knights. It was not long before he was sent to Poitou to assist in the vain efforts of the king to hold that possession against his rebellious barons. According to Roger de Coggeshall, he was at one time castellan of Falaise, and guardian of Prince Arthur, who had been captured at the siege of Mirebeau. If this be true, there may be some credit attached to Shakespeare's account of the intended mutilation and death of the unfortunate prince.

Well, see to live, I will not touch thine eyes
For all the treasures that thine uncle owes,

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are lines that well represent the character of this truly great man. In 1204 he held the castle of Chinon, one of the few remaining English possessions on the continent, and defended it with characteristic bravery for a year. The castle being completely shattered he left it, with all his men-at-arms, and fought a final but fruitless battle in the open. In this encounter he was badly wounded and made a prisoner. When he regained his liberty is unknown, but in 1214 he was appointed Seneschal of Niort and Poitou; John, in that year, having made a more or less successful effort to regain his lost duchies. During the struggles of the king with the barons he sided with the king, and was with him at Runnymede. In the same year he was made Justiciar. In 1202 he was appointed to the custody of Dover Castle, and is credited with having persuaded the king to put an end to the system of hereditary Constables. He resigned the Castle to William de Huntingfield in the next year, when in all probability he went to Poitou. In 1216 he was again made Constable of the Castle, and defended it with brilliant success against the attacks of the Dauphin of France.

Almost as soon as he was appointed Constable in 1216 he had brought the "garniture" of the castles of Norwich and Oxford to Dover to strengthen the fortress there, and during the famous siege he reaped the benefit of his wisdom. In spite of the weakness of the garrison, he killed so many of Louis' soldiers that the French were obliged to turn the assault into a regular blockade. It is commonly believed that the Castle was relieved, at a critical moment, by an ancestor of Sir Stephen de Pencestre, and the blockade was raised. After the defeat of Louis at Lincoln, in 1217, by the Earl of Pembroke, his sole hope of success depended upon the safe arrival of the

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French fleet, under Eustace the monk, with reinforcements of men and provisions. The importance of preventing the approach of this fleet was fully understood by de Burgo, who, placing himself at the head of the Cinque Ports' ships, and strengthening their crews with the picked men from the Castle garrison, awaited its arrival. Immediately it was sighted off the coast he received the sacrament from his chaplain, and gave the following order to his subordinates left in charge of the fortress: "If I should be taken, let me be hanged rather than give up the Castle, for it is the key of England". An account of the successful action which resulted will be found on another page. It decided the fate of Louis, who had nothing left but to submit and return to his own country. The importance of Dover Castle having been thus demonstrated, large sums of money were thenceforth spent during the next two reigns in adding to its defences. The salary paid to de Burgo as Constable of the Castle was an enormous one for those days, £1000 per annum, and he received that amount until he delivered up the charge of it to Stephen de Segrave in 1232. This may be explained by the fact that the Constable had to provide the pay and rations of the garrison out of his salary, and there is evidence to prove that the number of soldiers kept for its defence during the earlier reigns was a very large one.

The government of England remained chiefly in the hands of de Burgo until 1232, and the main object of his policy was to "strengthen the authority of the king over the barons, whilst, at the same time, he set himself distinctly at the head of the growing national feeling against the admission of foreigners to wealth and high positions in England. As a result of the disturbance of John's reign many of the barons and the leaders of the

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mercenaries had either fortified their own castles or had taken possession of those which belonged to the king. In 1220 Hubert demanded the surrender of these castles, as Henry II. had done in the beginning of his reign. In 1221 the Earl of Aumale was forced to surrender his castle, and in 1224 Fulco de Breauté, one of the leaders of John's mercenaries, who had received broad lands in England, was reduced to submission and was banished on his refusal to give up his great castle at Bedford. As long as Hubert ruled England was to belong to the English. His power was endangered from the very quarter from which it ought to have received most support. In 1227 Henry declared himself of age. He was weak and untrustworthy, always ready to give his confidence to unworthy favourites. His present favourite was Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. The bishop was a greedy and unscrupulous Poitevin, who regarded the king's favour as a means of enriching himself and his friends. Henry was always short of money, and was persuaded by Peter that it was Hubert de Burgo's fault. In 1232 Hubert was charged with a whole string of crimes and dismissed from office." In 1234 he was reconciled to the king, his earldom restored, and he was made King's Councillor. Five years later many of the old charges were revived against him, but he was allowed to remain in the peaceful possession of his estates. He was married four times, first to the widow of William de Vernon, secondly to the widow of Dodonis Bardolf, thirdly to Isabella, widow of Geoffrey de Mandeville, and lastly to Margaret, daughter of William, King of Scotland.

He died at Bansted, "full of days," on 12th May, 1243, and was buried in the Blackfriars in London. He is to be accounted one of England's greatest men,

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whether we regard him as a patriot, a statesman, a soldier or an admiral.

[*Pat. and Close Rolls; Bib. Topograph.*; Gardiner; Burrows; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

William, Baron de Huntingfield.

16th September, 1203, to 9th September, 1204.

He was appointed Constable of Dover Castle on 13th September, 1203. There was something very curious about his appointment, which may be explained by his subsequent conduct, for he was compelled not only to take an oath that he would faithfully perform the duties of his office and not deliver up the Castle to any one but the king or de Burgo, but, also, to give his son and fourth daughter as hostages for the fulfilment of his oath. He held the appointment for one year only, and was probably transferred to the castle of Lavvey, Leicestershire. In 1208 he was made one of the justices before whom fines were levied, and from 1210 to 1214 he exercised the office of sheriff for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1215 he joined the confederate barons, and was one of the twenty-five conservators of the Magna Charta. For his disloyalty to the king he was excommunicated by the Pope in 1216, and his lands were taken into the hands of the king, who gave them, during pleasure, to Nicholas de Haia. He actively supported the invasion of Louis VIII. of France, and was mainly instrumental in subduing Essex and Suffolk for that monarch. In May, 1217, he was taken prisoner at Lincoln. On the restoration of peace he returned to his allegiance, and received his forfeited estates back. He went to the Crusades in 1219, and is reported to have lived until the year 1240.

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Geoffrey de Say was apparently in charge of the works at Dover Castle during the year 1204, as he received 100 silver marks for that purpose from the exchequer in that year.

[*Rot. Lit. Pat.*; *Calend. Lit. Pat.*; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Lyon's *Dover*.]

William de Longspée, Earl of Salisbury.

9th September, 1204, to 25th May, 1207.

He was the natural son of Henry II. by an unknown mistress, and became Earl of Salisbury by his marriage with the daughter and heiress of the former earl. In the main he was a faithful supporter of the king, and spent the greater part of his life in active service. His first public appointment was that of sheriff of Wiltshire, which he held almost to the day of his death. In September, 1204, he was made Constable of Dover Castle, and retained the office until May, 1207. Some of his accounts may still be read in the Patent Rolls. In 1205 he was also appointed governor of the castle of Eye, Suffolk. He was sent to reinforce the garrison of Rochelle in 1208, and in the following year received the important post of warden of the Welsh Marches. The same year saw him at the head of an embassy sent by his half-brother King John to the Electors of Germany, on behalf of his nephew Otto, who was crowned emperor in 1209. During the Welsh expeditions of 1210-1212 he had the command of the English forces. Philip of France having determined to invade England collected an immense fleet at Damme in 1213, but the earl, having been appointed admiral of the English fleet, captured over 200 French vessels, and sent them, laden with provisions and arms, to England. More than 100 other ships were destroyed by fire, and all ideas of invading England had to be abandoned by

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the French king. It is worthy of note that the earl's fleet mainly consisted of ships furnished by the Cinque Ports. He remained true to the king during his excommunication by the Pope, and his name is to be found among the signatories to the charter of homage which John delivered to the legate. When England was invaded by Louis the earl maintained the king's interests until the fall of Winchester, but after that event he yielded to the French force. At the death of John he became a firm supporter of Henry III., and fought on his side at the decisive battle of Lincoln. He acted as a member of the Council during the years 1217-1218, and is reputed to have joined the crusading army at Damietta in 1219. He was a great power in the kingdom, and was a strong ally of de Burgo. He was made governor of the castles of Porchester, Winchester and Southampton in 1224, and in the next year accompanied the successful expedition of the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to Gascony. Owing to tempestuous weather and a shipwreck he was three months on his passage home, and it was generally believed that he had perished. With somewhat indecent haste de Burgo urged the king to marry his supposed widow to one of his relations, an indignity that the earl loudly declaimed against on his return. It is said that his injured feelings were soothed with a large sum of money, and that he died from poison administered to him whilst dining with de Burgo. He was a liberal patron of the Carthusian monks, giving them the funds to build a monastery. He was buried in Salisbury Cathedral, then building, in the spring of 1226.

[*Rot. Lit. Pat.*; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*; *Close Rolls*; Jeake.]

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Geoffrey Fitz-Pier, Earl of Essex.

25th May, 1207, to October, 1213.

From 1184 to the death of Henry II. he was Sheriff of Northamptonshire. He "took the cross" some time before the death of that king, but on the accession of Richard I. he obtained dispensation from his oath on the payment of a fine. It is probable that the death of his wife's great-grandfather, William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, was the cause of his change of purpose, for he claimed to inherit, through her, his titles and possessions. The chancellor awarded the estates to the other claimant, Geoffrey de Say, on condition of his paying a fine of 7000 marks. For some reason this was not done, and they were then given to Geoffrey Fitz-Pier on a payment of 3000 marks. He was one of the Justiciars appointed by Richard in 1198, and joined the league against William Longchamp. He was no mean general, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Welsh at Maud's Castle. On the death of Richard he became one of John's most determined supporters, and rendered him faithful service until his death. He was nominated as vice-regent (during the king's absence in Poitou) with the Bishop of Winchester, one of the two bishops who disregarded the Pope's interdict. His patent as Constable of Dover Castle bears date 25th May, 1206, and he held the post until his death on 2nd October, 1213. During his period of office important defensive works were commenced in the Castle, and were continued almost without intermission throughout the remainder of the reign. It is reported that the king said, on hearing of his death, "When he enters hell let him salute Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom no doubt he will find there". His name occurs very frequently in documents of the period,

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and it is evident that he was a person of great authority and power in the kingdom.

[*Pat. and Close Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Jeake.]

William Briwere, Lord of Torbay.

October, 1213, to June, 1215.

He was descended from one of the followers of William the Conqueror, who received a grant of lands for his services. His father was forester of the forest of La Bere in the reign of Henry II. Briwere was a close friend of Richard I., and took a prominent part in the affairs of the kingdom during the reigns of that king and his successors, John and Henry III. As early as 1189 he was made one of the four Justiciars appointed by Richard to rule the state during his absence in Normandy. He acted as a subordinate to Hugh, Bishop of Durham, but was evidently possessed of the entire confidence of the king. Rumours having reached Richard questioning the loyalty and discretion of the famous chancellor, William Longchamp, he wrote to Briwere and his colleagues empowering them to act as they thought best with regard to grants of castles and other places of trust, if they thought that Longchamp was unfaithful. From the fact that Briwere's name appears on the list of bishops and barons that the chancellor threatened to excommunicate it is evident that his influence was exerted against that haughty statesman. In spite of their antagonism he accompanied the chancellor to France to settle the terms of peace with Philip, and returned with the king to England in 1194. He was appointed, soon after, the arbitrator between the Archbishop of York and his chapter, the latter having appealed to the king against their diocesan. He cited the archbishop to appear before him, and, on his refusal,

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he declared his manors forfeit and reinstated the canons who had been ejected by him. Richard rewarded his services with the manor of Sumburne, in Hampshire, and 200 acres of adjoining land. He was also appointed sheriff of the counties of Berks, Bucks, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Oxfordshire and Nottinghamshire. On the death of Richard he became a favourite with John, and remained faithful to that monarch during the many vicissitudes of his reign. The "divine right of kings" seems to have been a ruling principle of his life, for in the succeeding reign of Henry III. he belonged to the king's party, and refused to join the great barons who opposed him. His attachment to John induced him to become a witness to the disgraceful treaty with Philip at Thouars; and he signed the charter of submission to the Pope, as well as the Magna Charta. He resisted all temptations to adhere to the confederation of barons, and was appointed the commander of the army sent to watch their forces. He was custodian of the Castle of Oxford, which he gave up to Thomas Basset in 1202; and in 1208 was made Constable of Chester Castle. He does not seem to have been appointed Constable of Dover Castle until the death of the Earl of Essex in 1213, although before that date he was in some way concerned in carrying out important defensive works there. As early as 1206 he received instructions from the king to do the work at Dover Castle in accordance with the instructions transmitted by Godfrey Fitz-Pier, and constantly during his period of office he received sums of £100 "*de operacione Cast. de Dovor*". In 1213 the chancellor was instructed by the king to send certain stores for victualling the Castle, and to send by sea "the engines for throwing stones". His salary as Constable was £500 a year. In accordance with a mandate of the

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king he handed his charge over to Hubert de Burgo in June, 1215. William Briwere the younger, Richard Briwere and Alan de Bocland acted at various times as his deputies. He was present at the coronation of Henry III., and threw all his influence, with de Burgo, into the scale against France. In 1221 he was made a Baron of the Exchequer. In spite of his many conflicts with the great ecclesiastical authorities he founded an abbey for Præmonstratensian canons in 1196 at Torr, in Devonshire, and laid the foundation of an abbey for the Cistercians. He also built an hospital for twelve poor people at "Burgh Walter". He obtained a very large number of grants from his royal masters, one of the most important being that of Bridgwater, with a charter for it as a free borough with a market. He married Beatrice de Valle, and had at least two sons, William and Richard. He died in the year 1226, and was buried before the high altar in the abbey church at Dunkeswell.

[*Rot. Lit. Pat.; Rot. de Liber.; Rot. Lit. Claus.; Rot. de Fin.; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

Hubert de Burgo, Earl of Kent.

25th June, 1215, to 8th August, 1232.

Vide ante, page 318.

DEPUTIES OF HUBERT DE BURGO.

Henry de Braibroc.

1220.

It is quite certain that de Burgo had a considerable number of Deputy-Constables during the time that he held the Castle, but we have not been able to settle with any reasonable amount of certainty the names of those who held the office until 1220. The names of several knights occur constantly in the records, chiefly in connection with the building works, among them Richard de

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Poppleshall, Geoffrey de Gurland, Geoffrey de Cressy, Simon de Greneweg, William de Essedford, most probably a Constable, Henry de Feugeres and Jocelin de Oye.

Henry de Braibroc had been Sheriff of Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. As Castellan of the Castle of Mountsorrel, Leicestershire, he held it against King John in the interests of the barons. On the accession of Henry III. he returned to his allegiance, and was employed by de Burgo in the Castle. He was one of the itinerant justices, and in the execution of his duties he was imprisoned by Fulco de Breauté in his castle of Bedford. This act of insubordination was one of the causes which led to the banishment of that powerful and disorderly mercenary captain.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Gardiner.]

Robert de Nereford.

1221 to 1223.

He was a connection by marriage of de Burgo, and was employed by him to direct the very important defences constructed in the Castle at this period. There are frequent references in the Close Rolls to payments made to him and his associates for the expenses of these works, as well as orders to various officials to supply large quantities of wood beams and lead. The wood seems to have been chiefly drawn from the forest of Kingswood, near Colchester. In the first year of his appointment we find an order to him to deliver up the wine of one John de Partden, a merchant of Abbeville, which he had detained without sufficient cause at Winchelsea. In 1222 an order almost the reverse of the above was sent to him to the effect that merchandise to the value of £50 belonging to the men of Gravelines and Bruges should be seized, and satisfaction made of the claim of William Fitz-Henry

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who had been robbed by them during the reign of the late king. In 1223 he was ordered to make inquisition into the amount due from Roger de Boiton, for his tenement of Newenton, in lieu of personal service in defence of the Castle. It is evident, therefore, that at that time the change had already been made in the system of castle-guard tenure. Henry de Cobham, the founder of the famous family of that name, was probably Lieutenant of the Castle about this time.

[*Pat. and Close Rolls;* Jeake; *Arch. Cant.*, xi., 53.]

Hugh de Windsor.

1223 to December, 1223.

He is mentioned by Jeake as having been appointed to the care of the Castle on 13th April, 1224, but we are not able to affirm that he actually held the office. He was Constable of Windsor, but his name does not figure in either the Patent or Close Rolls during the eighth year of Henry III.

[Jeake; Lyon.]

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.

30th December, 1223, to 22nd January, 1224.

The archbishop was made custodian of the castles of Dover and Canterbury on the same day, and within a very short time nominated a knight to represent him at Dover. It is not necessary to give any account of this eminent man, as his work with reference to the Magna Charta is well known. Appointed by the Pope, and forced upon the unwilling king as archbishop, he astonished both these personages by the patriotic line he took up with regard to the affairs of England.

On the 22nd of January, 1224, he sent a knight to govern Dover Castle, and we imagine it to have been

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either Geoffrey de Lucy, or Hubert Hose, whose names are henceforth closely connected both with the Castle and the Cinque Ports.

[*Pat. Rolls.*]

Geoffrey de Lucy, Lord of Newington.

22nd January, 1224, to 12th August, 1225.

In August of 1224 he was appointed "custodian of the sea coast with the king," and seems to have exercised his authority as such as late as the year 1231, when an order was sent to him to see that the ports of Dover and Portsmouth and the other ports should be closed to all passengers unless they could produce a special mandate from the king. It is by no means clear that he exercised the office of Constable of Dover Castle, and if he did it was only for a short time, as Geoffrey de Serland was appointed in August of 1225. He was the son and heir of Geoffrey de Lucy, Lord of Newington.

He was Castellan of Berkhamstead in 1225, and received the grant of the lands of "Balyorgany" in the following year. In 1227 he resigned the charge of the Channel Islands to which he had been appointed at some earlier date. It should be remembered that the Cinque Ports had a special charge to secure these islands against the attacks of all enemies. He was custodian of Porchester Castle, and lord of the manor of Tycchesfield. In the previous reign he had received the lands of Thomas Robert de Tilly at Blandford in Dorsetshire, and was lord of the manor of Slopton. In 1266 he received an order with many others not to attend a tournament but to go to the king to consider the means to be adopted to ensure the escape of the prince. His daughter and heiress married Fobert de Dover. He seems to have sided with the barons during the civil war, as, with other barons,

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he signed the instrument making the King of France arbitrator in 1263. He was summoned to De Montfort's Parliament, and died *circ.* 1284.

[*Patent Rolls; Arch. Cant.*, iv., 214; Blaauw.]

Hubert Hose de Hoes.

1224.

He was probably a member of the family of that name (Hosatus or Husatus), who held land in Oxfordshire, and represented in 1253 by Henry Hose. From the Patent Rolls it is quite certain that he was employed by the king in the Cinque Ports in conjunction with Geoffrey de Lucy and Thomas de Blumville. We are inclined to believe that he may have been the knight sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury in January, 1224, but this is not clear. De Lucy was *Custos* of the coast of England, and in 1224 a writ was issued to him, Blumville, Hose and the barons of the Cinque Ports, commanding them to do no injury to the ships of the barons of London. We have found no writ of appointment as Constable of the Castle for either De Lucy or Hose, and, although in all lists of Constables the name of the latter appears, the matter cannot be regarded as settled beyond dispute. In 1231 he was appointed to the Honour and Castle of Brechin, and in 1237 was employed by the king as Seneschal in Gascony.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Jeake; Harris.]

Geoffrey de Serland.

12th August, 1225, to 1226.

He held the office for a short time only, being succeeded by William de Averanche before March in the following year. In 1224 he was appointed Seneschal of the land of Ulton. He also filled the office of Deputy-Sheriff of Lincolnshire under Nicholas de Haia. He has

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generally been confused with Geoffrey de Gurdun, who was employed in the Castle earlier in the reign.

[*Patent Rolls.*]

William de Averanche, Lord of Folkestone.

12th March, 1226.

On the 12th of March a writ was issued from the king to the barons of the Cinque Ports on behalf of "William de Averanche, Constable of Dover Castle, and Turgis, *Præpositus* of Dover," appointing them Wardens of the Cinque Ports during pleasure. This is a sign that Hubert de Burgo was not Warden, as he had not yet fallen into disfavour with the king. William de Averanche seems to have acted as Constable until 1227. He was a descendant of the William de Albrincis (Averanche) to whom William I. granted lands for the defence of the Castle, and it is more than probable that Averanche's Tower is named after him. His sister married Hamo de Crêvequer, "to whom she brought large manorial possessions". Turgis in 1216 was custodian of the forest of Gillingham, and in 1243 he was *Custos* of Hereford. In the Liberate Roll of 10 Henry III. the following entry occurs: "Pay out of our treasury to Thurgis de Dover 1s., which we owe him at Easter term for the cs. which he yearly receives at the Exchequer for his support in our service".

They were, as Wardens, ordered to summon a court at Shepway immediately on their appointment, and later on they summoned the barons to meet the king at Portsmouth with "all the service they owed". A request was also made to the Ports that they would double the number of days for which they were bound to serve without pay.

[*Pat. Rolls*; Burrows; *Arch. Cant.*, iii.; Lyon; *Red Book Exc.*; *Lib. Roll.*]

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Bertram de Crioill, Lord of Albury.

I. Constable, 1227? to 8th August, 1232.
II. Warden, 1st May, 1236, to 8th January, 1241.
III. Warden, 12th March, 1242, to 13th July, 1256.

He was the son of John de Crioill and Margery de Eastwelle. It is supposed that he was employed as Constable of Dover Castle before 1229, but the first entry in the Patent Rolls is dated 22nd July, 1229. It is a writ addressed to the barons of the Cinque Ports directing them to carry out the instructions of Bertram de Crioill, Constable of Dover Castle, and Robert de Auberville, Constable of Hastings. Early in 1230 the king sends Henry de Bissopeston to the barons to swear them to attend the king at Portsmouth at an early date. On 9th April in the same year a writ is directed to the barons that they should carry out what Bertram de Crioill and Henry de Sandwich should command them. It is evident, therefore, that Bertram de Crioill was not Warden of the Cinque Ports at that time, in fact Robert de Auberville was appointed custos of the seaports from Portsmouth to Sandwich in February, 1228. In June, 1232, de Crioill was made Custos of Kent, and on the 8th of August in the same year Stephen de Segrave was placed in charge of the Castle and Peter de Rivallis Custos of the Port of Dover.

On 1st May, 1236, de Crioill was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, and his first duty was to encourage the portsmen to harass the French coast with their ships of war. He held the office until January, 1241, but was reappointed in March, 1242, and held the office until July, 1255. Several grants of land to him are recorded, and he was high in the favour of the king until the civil strife between the king and many of his barons commenced. It is believed that his lands were confiscated

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by the king. In 1242 he was instructed to give Henry de Wingham, afterwards Bishop of London, the king's share of the prizes taken at sea during the war with France, and the Bishop of Gloucester was associated with him in a consultation that was held with twelve of the portsmen concerning the defences to be adopted for the ports. He was Custos of Kent a second time in 1242. He was permitted to fortify his castle at Ostenhanger, and there is no doubt but that he filled a very important position in the county. He was buried in St. Radigund's Abbey, and his tomb was still in existence at the beginning of the century.

[*Pat. Rolls; Arch. Cant.;* Lyon; Burrows.]

Henry Hoese, Lord of Hasting.

1232.

The son of Matthew Hoese. He married Johanna, daughter of Alard le Fleming, in 1254, who held the manor of Pulborough. Hoese, the name is written variously Husee, Hosatus and Hussey, was possessed of lands in Wiltshire, and in 1232 he is mentioned as Constable of the Castle. It is not improbable that he was employed under Stephen de Segrave. He joined the party of the dissatisfied barons, and was present at the battle of Lewes. He died in 1292.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Blaauw, *Hist. Peerage.*]

Stephen, Lord de Segrave.

8th August, 1232, to 10th February, 1235.

The son of Gilbert de Segrave, he married Margery, the second daughter of Hubert de Burgo. He first comes into notice in the year 1203, when he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London at a salary of £50 a year. He remained faithful to John during the many troubles of his reign, and his loyalty was rewarded by

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the grant of the lands of Stephen de Gaunt in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, and later on by the manor of Kineton in Warwickshire. In 1220 he was appointed Castellan of Lavvey Castle in Leicestershire, and on Henry leaving the kingdom he was left Justiciar. In 1220 he was made Custos of Essex and Herefordshire. He opposed himself to the policy of his father-in-law, and attached himself to the fortunes of the rising favourite Peter des Roches. On the fall of de Burgo he reaped a rich harvest, being appointed Constable of Dover Castle, and guardian of the castles of Rochester, Canterbury, Odiham, Windsor, Hertford, Colchester, and Constable of the Tower of London. He seems to have supported the exactions of the Pope, made by the hand of his legate Cardinal Otho, and by so doing to have roused the feeling of a large body of both clergy and laity against him. His houses in Leicestershire and Huntingdonshire were burnt, and the king had to withdraw his favour from him. Although he had taken orders in his earlier years he had lived as a knight, and he ended his days in the Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary des Prés, Leicester, in 1251. Matthew Paris speaks of him as "*Vir flexibilis, de clerico factus miles*".

[*Pat. Rolls; Arch. Cant.*, xv., 4; Blaauw.]

Hamo de Crêvequer, Lord of Leeds, and Walerand Teutonicus.

10th February, 1235.

On the 10th of February a writ was issued appointing Hamo de Crêvequer and Walerand Teutonicus Wardens of the Cinque Ports and of the sea coast from Hastings to the port of de la Pole. No mention is made in the writ of either being the Constable of Dover Castle.

Hamo de Crêvequer was the son of Hamo and Matilda, daughter of William d'Averanche. He held an

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important position in the county of Kent, being Lord of the Manors of Chatham, Folkestone, Leeds, and many other places. He joined in the rebellion of the barons against King John, and his lands were declared forfeit and taken into the king's hands. He fled to the continent, but on the death of John returned to England, under the protection of the Earl of Pembroke. Bertram de Crioill, who had married his wife's sister, acted as Constable under him during the time that he was joint Warden of the ports. He died in 1262.

Walerand Teutonicus, who has been confused with Robert Walerand, was employed by John in several offices of trust. His first mission of importance in the reign of Henry III. was in 1231, when he was sent to Ireland to tranquillise that unhappy country. He received the charge of nine castles in the April of that year, and a little later two others. On his return from Ireland he was joined with Hamo in the charge of the ports from Sandwich to Poole. In 1242 he was made justice for all the marches of Wales, and was in that country for many years. He received all the lands of the Earl of Pembroke in 1246, and those of Morgan Karleon, held *in capite*, in 1249. He was an able and active man, and constantly employed by the king. We are inclined to think that this Walerand was the William Walerand who married Isabella, eldest daughter of Hugh, Lord of Kilpek, and who, *jure uxoris*, inherited the title; if so, he died in 1260, and was the father of Robert Walerand.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Lyon; Hasted; *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 134; x., 111; Hoare's *Wiltshire*, ii., 1-10; iii., 73.]

Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex and Hereford.
8th January, 1241.

He was the son of the first Earl of Hereford, and father of the seventh Humphrey de Bohun, who was

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Constable of England. He claimed the inheritance of Geoffrey Fitz-Pier, Earl of Essex, through his mother, and so received that title. At the commencement of the reign of Henry III. he was made Earl Marshal, and stood as godfather to Prince Edward. He was at one time warden of the Welsh Marches. On the death of Hubert de Burgo he joined the party of the discontented barons, and was a supporter of the Bishop of Lincoln in his endeavours to overthrow the extravagant demands of the Pope. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1241, but did not hold the office long. Probably he "took the cross" the same year, for he was absent from England as a Crusader until 1258. On his return he was present at the famous Parliament of Westminster when the barons appeared in arms and demanded the expulsion of all foreigners. He took a leading part in the rebellion of the barons, and was wounded at the battle of Evesham in 1265 and died immediately afterwards. He is reputed to have founded the Augustinian Friars in Broad Street, London.

In the *Issues of the Exchequer* we find a payment of 400 marks made to him for the "custody of Dover Castle". This is dated 14th October, 1241.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Lyon; *Dic. Nat. Biog.; Issues of Excheq.*]

Peter de Savoy, Earl of Richmond.

6th November, 1241, to 12th March, 1242.

He was the seventh son of Thomas I. of Savoy, by Margaret de Faucigny. He was the uncle of Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III., and of Sanchia, her sister, who was married to Richard, Duke of Cornwall. His brother, Boniface, was Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in spite of his being a foreigner, supported Simon Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln, the great champion of the English Church against the exactions of the Pope.

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He was originally intended for an ecclesiastical career, and in 1226 was Canon of Lausanne. Henry III. invited him to England in 1240, and bestowed many grants of lands upon him. The king knighted him in Westminster Abbey in January, 1241, and gave a great feast to celebrate the event. He was created Earl of Richmond and given the charge of Lewes and several other castles. The angry feeling which was now beginning to take shape at the reversal of Hubert de Burgo's policy of "England for the English," and the king's constant grant of lands and offices of importance to Provençals, induced the earl to seek permission to return to his own country. This was at first granted, but he was stopped at Dover and made Warden of the Cinque Ports on 6th November, 1241. He resigned the office in March, 1242, when he accompanied the king to Poitou. He remained on the continent until 1247, when he returned to England with a bevy of fair foreign ladies to be married to English noblemen, an arrangement which still further exaggerated the growing ill-feeling against the king. In 1249 he was made Castellan of Hastings and Tickhill Castles. Shortly afterwards he was sent to treat with the King of France, and did not return to England until 1252. He was on friendly terms with Simon de Montfort, but took the royal side in the baronial war of 1258. He seems to have had his lands declared forfeit during the civil war, for they were restored to him after the battle of Evesham. He built the Savoy Palace in London. He died, after a lingering illness, in May 1268.

[*Pat. Rolls; Nat. Dic. Biog.*]

Bertram de Crioill, Lord of Albury.

12th March, 1242, to 18th July, 1255.

(*Vide ante.*)

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Sir Reginald Cobeham de Allington.
13th July, 1255.

He was the third son of Henry de Cobeham, and served as Sheriff of Kent and Hertford, and Justice for Essex, Middlesex and Wiltshire. He succeeded Bertram de Crioill as Warden and Constable of Dover Castle on 13th July, 1255, his salary being fifty marks a year, in addition to the wards of the Castle, and the passage of Dover. During his period of office Eleanor of Castile, wife of Prince Edward, landed at Dover "with a great retinue, and a very scanty wardrobe". The king sent a present of 100 marks and a palfrey for the use of the princess. Sir Reginald accompanied her to London, a privilege which the Warden seems almost always to have enjoyed when he received any royal visitor in Dover.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Harl. MSS.; Lyon.]

Sir Roger de Northwode.
Circ. 1257.

He was lord of the manor of Northwood-Chasteners near Milton. He acted as Sheriff of Kent at one time, and was Governor of Rochester Castle, and was one of the barons of the Exchequer. He was one of the executors to the will of Sir Reginald de Cobeham, and seems to have acted as his Constable in Dover Castle. When Nicholas de Moels was appointed Warden and Constable in 1258 a writ was issued to De Northwode to deliver up the Castle to him. He married Bona, daughter of John de Waltham of Shorne, and died in 1286.

[*Arch. Cant.*, v., 25; xii., 33; xxii., 159; Lyon; *Complete Peerage.*]

Nicholas de Moels, Lord of Caddebury.
6th January, 1258.

He is described by Matthew Paris as "*miles strenuissimus et circumspectus*". He was Seneschal of Gascony,

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and is first mentioned in 1215 as being in the royal service. In 1228 he was made Custos of Winchester and the county of Southampton. In the next year he was in Brittany with the king, and was sent on a mission to the court of Marche. After holding Windsor Castle for a time he was sent as Governor of the Channel Islands in 1234; five years later he was Sheriff of Yorkshire, and Guardian of the Bishopric of Durham. In 1243 he was made Seneschal of Gascony, and besieged Grammont, and defeated the King of Navarre. He returned to England in 1245 and was made Constable of Cardigan and Cærmarthen Castles. In 1251 he was back in Gascony, but in 1254 was appointed Castellan of Oxford. He was on active service in Wales during 1257, and on 6th January, 1258, he succeeded Reginald de Cobeham as Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He returned from the Parliament at Oxford as a supporter of the king, and was compelled to give up Dover Castle to de Grey. He was permitted, however, to retain the charge of Canterbury and Rochester Castles to which he had been appointed earlier in the year. In 1258 he was made Custos of Sherborne Castle, and in 1263 of Corfe.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Lyon.]

Richard de Grey, Lord of Codnor.

I. 22nd June, 1258, to 7th September, 1259.
II. *Ante* November, 1263.
III. May, 1264.

He was one of the supporters of King John, and received many grants of land for his services. He fought at the siege of Rochelle in 1224, and in 1226 was Governor of the Channel Islands. In 1228 he was Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and Custodian of Devizes Castle. He took the cross in 1252, and on his return sided with the

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disaffected barons. After the Mad Parliament he was appointed Constable of Dover Castle on 22nd June, 1258, and on the next day Warden of the Cinque Ports, a sign that the two offices were not as yet inseparable. In 1259 he failed to stop Walaschus, the Pope's envoy, bringing letters of institution for Aymer as Bishop of Winchester, and for this he was removed from his office, receiving a gratuity of 550 marks when he yielded it up to the king at Westminster. In 1263, probably in August, he was reappointed to Dover Castle, and in December of that year foiled an attempt of Prince Edward to surprise the Castle. This statement is made on the authority of the *Chronicles of Dover*, written by a monk of St. Martin's Priory, but the *Patent Rolls* show that Roger de Leyburn was appointed on 26th November in the same year. The explanation is that de Grey did not yield up the Castle until after 25th December. He was present at the siege of Rochester in April, 1264, and was made custodian of it in 1265. In May, 1264, he was again in charge of Dover Castle. He was captured by Prince Edward at Kenilworth, but was allowed to retain his lands on the payment of a fine. He was present at the battle of Lewes, and after Evesham his estates were granted to Princess Eleanor of Castile. He died in 1271.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Blaauw; Lyon.]

Hugh le Bigod.

7th September, 1259, to 3rd May, 1261.

He was the younger son of Hugh, third Earl of Norfolk. Nothing is known of his early life, and the first reference we can find is his appointment in 1256 as chief ranger of Farndale Forest, Yorkshire. In the next year he was made Castellan of Pickering Castle, and in the same year accompanied the king to Wales. Under the

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provisions of Oxford he was made Chief Justiciar of England in 1258, and was "sworn to do justice in spite of the king, queen, their sons, or any living person, uninfluenced by hate or love, prayer or price". As Chief Justiciar he was in charge of the Tower of London. On 7th September, 1259, he was appointed Constable of Dover Castle and Chamberlain of Sandwich in succession to Richard de Grey. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports on the following day, and held all three offices until deprived by the king in person. He had been at one time attached to the baronial party, but eventually came over to the king, and was present on his side at the battle of Lewes. He was one of the numerous knights, between 300 and 400, who abandoned their sovereign when victory declared against him, thinking, as an old chronicler said of the Londoners, "*Bellat prudenter qui fugit sapienter*". He joined the queen and Prince Edmund at Damme in Flanders, who were collecting a strong force with which to invade England. He died in 1266. Matthew Paris describes him as a most excellent judge.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Blaauw.]

Nicholas de Crioill.

I. *Circ.* 1260.
II. 10th June, 1263.

In 1259 he was Custos of Kent and Castellan of Rochester and Canterbury Castles, and seems to have acted as Constable of Dover under Hugh le Bigod. On 10th May, 1260, an order is sent to him as Constable from the king to send by John de Sutton and George de Dover the money which Albricus de Fiscampo had sent from France and lodged in the Castle. A few days later a similar order was transmitted. He remained faithful

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in his allegiance to the king during the civil war, and was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports by Henry III., for on 10th June, 1263, he was directed to provide, as Warden, for the safety of Dover harbour. It is not probable that he exercised much authority, for the portsmen were thoroughly committed to the cause of the barons. He had been with the king earlier in the reign to the Welsh wars, and was a baron of the Exchequer.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Lyon.]

Robert Walerand, Lord of Kilpek.

I. 3rd May, 1261.
II. 20th Feb., 1263.

The son of William Walerand, and an important personage at the court of Henry III. He held many knights' fees and was constantly employed on missions for his royal master. In 1252 he was in charge of the Castle of Cardigan, and the building then being carried out there. In 1256 he was employed as an ambassador to the Pope, and was engaged in collecting money to pay off the king's debt to that pontiff. He devised "the expedient of sending over bills of exchange, drawn upon the English clergy, to which the legate was instructed to require their signatures, each acknowledging the debt inscribed". In 1261 the king, being in Dover Castle on 3rd May, took into his hands the constableship of Dover Castle and the chamberlainship of Sandwich from Hugh le Bigod and gave them to Robert Walerand. His salary was 600 marks or £400, payable from the issues of Dover passage, Sandwich, and the Castle wards, the deficit being made up from the issues of Kent. He was made Custos of Kent and Guardian of Rochester and Canterbury Castles in the same year. In July of the next year he was succeeded in the Castle by Walter de Bergsted,

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but was reappointed Constable and Warden of the Cinque Ports on 20th February, 1263. He was with the prince at Evesham, and received the lands of Hugh de Neville and was made one of four governors appointed to rule London. He had been Sheriff of Gloucester, and the king had at various times made him many grants for his services. He died in 1272, without issue; and his nephew Alan de Plukenet inherited his estates.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Blaauw; Hoare's *Wiltshire.*]

Walter de Bergsted.

12th July, 1262.

He succeeded Robert Walerand as Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, the king being in Dover when he received the appointments. It is probable that Walerand crossed to the continent with the king on 14th July, and remained with him in France until his return in December. De Bergsted then, in all probability, delivered up the Castle to him, as we find him mentioned in February, 1263, as Warden and Constable. Beyond the fact that in 1259 de Bergsted handed over the custody of Kent and the charge of the Castles of Rochester and Canterbury to Nicholas de Moels we have been unable to find any further particulars of his life.

[*Pat. Rolls.*]

Robert Walerand, Lord of Kilpek.

20th February, 1263.

(*Vide ante.*)

Nicholas de Crioill.

10th June, 1263.

(*Vide ante.*)

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Prince Edmund; and Robert de Glaston.

15th June, 1263.

On the 15th June the king sent Prince Edmund to the barons of the Cinque Ports that he might receive their homage and faithful service. It is probable that Prince Edmund and Robert de Glaston were on the same date placed in charge of Dover Castle although Nicholas de Crioill had been appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Custos of Kent on 10th June, with orders to facilitate the defence of the Castle. They delivered the Castle up to a representative of the barons in July of the same year. Prince Edmund, the second son of Henry III., commonly known as Edmund Crouchback from a supposed deformity, in reality from the fact of his having worn a cross on his back as a Crusader, had been nominated King of Sicily and Naples by the Pope in 1250, when he was but ten years of age. Beyond granting the principality of Capua to the queen's uncle he did not exercise any other regal power, and the title was renounced in 1257. He accompanied his mother to the continent in 1263, and remained with her until her return after the restoration of peace. He was endowed with all the estates of Simon de Montfort and Nicholas Segrave, and was made High Steward and Earl of Derby after the battle of Evesham. He was afterwards created Earl of Lancaster, and his descendant, Henry IV., deposed Richard II. from the throne. He accompanied his elder brother Prince Edward to the Crusades, and lived to see him crowned King of England. Of Robert de Glaston nothing is known.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Blaauw; Gardiner.]

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Henry de Sandwich, Bishop of London.

10th July, 1263.

We have been unable to find any information about his early life, but he was a prebendary of St. Paul's before his elevation to the See of London in 1263. He was a supporter of the baronial party and zealous in his efforts to secure ecclesiastical liberty. Almost immediately after his elevation to the Bishopric of London he was sent by the king, with the Bishop of Worcester, to the barons, and was successful in arranging the armistice which saved the king at a desperate crisis in his affairs. This armistice was concluded in June, 1263, and the king was compelled to give up Dover Castle as a sign of his sincerity. On 10th July a writ was issued to Prince Edmund and Robert de Glaston commanding them to yield up the Castle to Henry de Sandwich, and eight days later a second mandate was sent to them to yield the Castle with all "*Vina arma balistas et aliam garnisturam*" to the same bishop. Henry de Sandwich does not seem to have exercised the office of Constable at all, for John de Haia was appointed Constable on the same day after Simon de Montfort had taken possession of the seals. He was one of the baronial party who signed the formal instrument by which the King of France was appointed arbitrator between Henry and his rebellious subjects. This document was dated 13th December, 1263, and contained their oath that they would abide by Louis' decision, whether for or against them. The *Mise* of Amiens, as Louis' verdict is usually termed, was rejected by the great majority of the barons, and Henry de Sandwich was sent to the king just before the battle of Lewes with an offer of 50,000 marks (£33,333 6s. 8d.), if the king would consent to accept the Oxford statutes. After the battle of Evesham those

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bishops who had supported Simon de Montfort fell into disgrace, and Henry de Sandwich was excommunicated by the legate, Cardinal Ottoboni, in a council held at Northampton. He was ordered to repair to Rome within three months, and seems to have eventually made his peace with the Pope and Prince Edward, for his successor in the See of London, John de Chishul, was not appointed until 1274. His brass monument remained in Old St. Paul's until it was destroyed by the iconoclastic fanaticism of Edward VI.'s time.

[*Pat. Rolls;* W. H. Blaauw ; Lyon.]

John de Haia.

18th July, 1263.

He was a confidential friend of Simon de Montfort, and was in close communication with him during the civil war. He is first mentioned in 1262, when he was one of the barons' commissioners appointed to treat with those of the king to find, if possible, a *modus vivendi* between Henry and his dissatisfied subjects. He was sent by Simon de Montfort on 18th July, 1263, to take charge of Dover Castle, but how long he was so employed is not certain. Lord Grey of Codnor was certainly in possession of the Castle at the end of the same year, and it was handed over to the king after the *Mise* of Amiens. He held the office for a short period only. He was present at the siege of Rochester Castle, and in 1264 was made Custos of Winchelsea and Rye with orders to apply the issues of those ports to the defence of Dover Castle. He was also instructed to fit out their ships to prevent the landing of foreigners espousing the king's cause. He was in the Castle with the Countess of Leicester during the battle of Evesham, and his fortunes waned with the fall of his patron, Simon de Montfort.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Blaauw.]

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Richard de Grey, Lord of Codnor.
Ante November, 1263.
(*Vide ante.*)

Sir Roger de Leiburne.

I. 26th November, 1263, to 28th May, 1264.
II. 22nd August, 1265, to 20th November, 1265.

He was the son of Roger de Leiburne, who, in his youth, was one of the barons opposed to King John, and was taken prisoner at Rochester Castle in 1215. The Warden was "one of the most stirring and distinguished warriors of the day, his whole life was passed between the tilting lists and the battlefield". He was accused of wilfully killing a knight against whom he had a grudge in a mere tilting joust, and was, altogether, of a wild and unstable character. He had been Prince Edward's companion when abroad, and was his companion at the tournaments there, but he joined himself to the baronial party. On the outbreak of hostilities he led a band of marauders in Kent which spared neither houses, parks nor churches, and became a scourge to the county. He was actively engaged in driving the king's mercenaries out of Kent in August, 1263, and was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle on 26th November of the same year. He did not obtain possession of the Castle until December, and after the *Mise* of Amiens he returned to his allegiance, thus giving the king the control of that important fortress. His action in thus deserting the cause of Simon de Montfort was made the subject of a political song.

Et Sire Roger de Leiburne
Que sà et la souvent se torne,
  Mout ala conquerant;
Assez mist paine de gainer
Pur ses pertes restorer,
  Que Sire Edward le fist avant.

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It is not possible to say how long de Leiburne held the office, for when Henry de Montfort was made Warden in May, 1264, Richard de Grey was ordered to deliver up the Castle to him. Leiburne was present at the defence of Rochester Castle in April, and must have left Dover before that time. He was appointed Guardian of the Kentish coast in the king's interest, and it was due to his activity that the Castle garrison found it difficult to obtain full supplies. He was present at the battle of Lewes, and after Evesham obtained a free pardon for all his offences against the Crown, and was rewarded with a grant of the thirteen manors of Henry Fitz-Aucher and the house of Peter de Montfort in Westminster. He was made Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chamberlain of Sandwich, Constable of Dover Castle, and Sheriff of Kent and Cumberland. He accompanied Prince Edward to the Crusades, and died abroad in 1271. His heart was sent home, and is preserved in a "heart-niche" in Leybourne Church.

[*Arch. Cant.*, v.; *Pat. Rolls;* Lyon; Blaauw.]

Henry de Montfort.

28th May, 1264, to 1265.

He was the eldest son of Simon, Earl of Leicester, and therefore a nephew of Henry III. He and his brother Simon were knighted by Prince Edward, with whom they were educated. He naturally followed his father during the civil war, and was sent by him to represent the barons at the *Mise* of Amiens. On his return he was sent in command of a body of troops to secure the Welsh Marches. He was extremely active in the field, and stormed, sacked and took Worcester. He, with his brother Guy, led the van at the battle of Lewes, and was appointed Custodian of Prince Edward. He was

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appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle on 28th May, 1264, and was faithfully served by the portsmen, who were strongly in favour of the barons' policy. He gained the name of the "Wool Merchant," because he put in force with much strictness the ordinances regulating the export of that commodity. Prince Edward and Prince Henry, eldest son of the King of the Romans, were kept by him as hostages in Dover Castle. He fought and fell by his father's side at the battle of Evesham, and was buried in the abbey there.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Blaauw.]

Matthew de Hastings,
1265,

seems to have been left in charge of the Castle by Henry de Montfort when he joined his father before the battle of Evesham. He was instrumental in surrendering the Castle to Prince Edward, and he received his pardon on that account. It is stated that he "evacuated the Castle during the late disturbances and rendered it up to Prince Edward".

[*Pat. Rolls;* 50 Hen. III.]

Sir Roger de Leiburne.
22nd August, 1265.
(*Vide ante.*)

Prince Edward.
20th November, 1265.

The eldest son of Henry III., and afterwards Edward I. It is not necessary to give any account of this prince as his history may be read in any record of the period. The one point which it is necessary to note is his treatment of the Ports after his appointment as Warden in November, 1265. The whole of the Ports had defied his authority, Dover itself did not yield until the end of the

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year, whilst it was not until March, 1266, that he was enabled to say that he had overcome the last remnant of rebellion within their liberties. His judicious and statesmanlike treatment soon gained the respect of the portsmen, and he, whom they once defied, became the author of their great charter when he succeeded to the throne. The Castle was placed in charge of Sir Stephen de Pencestre, who was also made Deputy Warden for the Ports when the prince sailed for the Crusades in 1270.

Sir Stephen de Pencestre.
20th November, 1265.
(*Vide* p. 353.)

Sir Matthew de Bezille.
1267.

One of the many alien favourites of the king, and a sturdy and resolute soldier. The first mention of him is in the Patent Rolls (23rd July, 27 Henry III.), when he received *licentia disponendi de custod̄ et maritag̃ hoer̄ suorum, et de custod̄ terrar̄ suar̂ si obierit dictis hoeredibus infra etat̄ exist̄bz.* In 1262 he was made Custos of the County and Castle of Gloucester, and he forcibly thrust himself into that position on the king's behalf. He was besieged by the baronial forces under Roger de Clifford and John Gifford, and made a most gallant resistance. He was ultimately obliged to surrender, but his bravery extorted praise even from his enemies. His memory is still celebrated in a political song of the day, which has survived the ravages of time :—

Ne à Sire Mathi de Besile
Ne lesserent une bile
  En champ o en vile,
Tot le soen fut besile
E cointement fu destrusse
  Par un treget sans gile.

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From which we gather that he suffered considerably for his loyalty to Henry III. He was appointed Constable of Dover Castle in 1267, whilst Sir Stephen de Pencestre was otherwise employed. During his period of office he paid the master of the Domus Dei a sum of £32 due to them from the issues of the port of Dover. He died possessed of four manors, probably given him by the king.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Blaauw.]

Sir Stephen de Pencestre.

20th November, 1265, to 2nd January, 1298.

The disturbed state of the Cinque Ports at the end of the reign of Henry III. demanded that a capable and conscientious officer should be appointed as Constable of Dover Castle, at that time a most difficult and responsible post. The prince was fortunate enough to find a most suitable Constable in Stephen de Pencestre, who had already been appointed Custos of the peace in Kent and Sussex in 1263. There is not much known of his actions as Constable during the profound peace which the country enjoyed as soon as Prince Edward took the reins of government into his own hands. It is evident, however, that he gave entire satisfaction, for Edward on his return from the Holy Land continued him in the position; and in 1276 appointed him Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was High Sheriff of Kent, and was employed on many commissions of Oyer and Terminer, and several Gaol Deliveries. In 1279 he presided at a court held in the Guildhall in London to try a large body of men charged with clipping the king's coin, and condemned three Christians and 293 Jews to be hanged and pulled asunder. This terrible severity was insufficient to check this profitable crime, for in 1283 we find a special officer appointed

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to examine all moneys coming into the kingdom from abroad, clipped coins and false money being at that time freely imported. In 1282 he was appointed, with Henry le Waleys and Gregory de Rokesle, to plan and assess the new town of Yhamme, which the king ordered to be built for the barons of the town and port of Winchelsea, then partially submerged, and in danger of total destruction. In 1289 we find him ordered with the "bailiffs and good men of Yarmouth" and the barons of the Cinque Ports to appear before the king in Parliament "to explain their grievances, and to abide by such orders as shall then be made".

This dispute between the men of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports is considered elsewhere, but it is evident that about this time it had reached an acute stage. A few years later we find him commanded to arrest one shilling in the pound from the merchandise of all Castilian merchants entering the Cinque Ports until a sum of 487 marks, due to Gerald de Francia, a citizen of Bayonne, was paid to him. The reason for this mandate is stated to be that "Sanctius, King of Castile, failed to do justice to the said Gerald, who, although he had letters of security, was plundered and imprisoned". In 1297 a mandate is issued to Stephen de Pencestre, William de Leiburne and John le Sauvage to provide ten well-armed ships, with men, to engage the mariners of Calais who with others of "the power of the King of France" were preparing to attack the English ships crossing the channel with merchandise. During his period of office the fleet of the Cinque Ports was called out on several occasions, notably to assist in the expeditions against the Welsh. The clergy had allowed their year's tenths towards the expenses of this expedition, but the Pope deputed several persons to collect the money and send it to him. The

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king thereupon issued a mandate to the Warden to "prevent any merchant or any other person crossing beyond the sea in company of the cardinals," and to permit them to take only as much money as was set forth in their safe conduct. Sir Stephen de Pencestre had all the muniments and grants connected with the Castle written out in a fair book which was called *Castelli Feodarium*, and from which, as it existed in his day, we may believe that Darell drew some of his information. He built himself a castle at Allington, and obtained permission to fortify it. He received a charter of free warren for it, with provisions for a weekly market, and annual fair. He was married, but seems to have left no male heir. He resigned the Wardenship in 1298, and died in the following year and was buried at Penshurst. His monumental stone still exists in the church. In 1312 his widow and executors of his will appealed to the king for the arrears of his pay due at his death as Warden, and, on inquisition being made, a sum of 309 marks was paid to them. It appears from this inquisition that his salary was £300 a year, made up as follows: £146 from wards pertaining to the Castle, 100 marks from the issues of the port, and £88 from the Exchequer. In April, 1298, the king issued his great charter to the Ports, and Sir Stephen de Pencestre was one of the witnesses.

In addition to Matthew de Bezille, already mentioned, William de Orlaveston (1282), John de Burney (1283), Thomas de l'Isle (1287), Alan de Hugham (1289), John de Dover (1290), Valentine de Bere (1291), and John de la Sale (1293) were all associated with Sir Stephen de Pencestre in his office as Constable and Warden of the Cinque Ports. Their names are chiefly given as being appointed by king's writ to the custody of the port of

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Dover as "Surrogates" for Pencestre. Reginald le Viscount and Bertram de Crioill, son of the previous constable, are also mentioned by Philipot.

[*Pat. Rolls; State Papers;* Lyon; *Dic. Nat. Biog.; Top. Bibliog.*]

Robert, Baron de Burghersh.

2nd January, 1298, to October, 1306.

He was first appointed on 14th March, 1297, to "hold the custody of Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports under Stephen de Pencestre," and on his retirement early in the following year he was continued in the position for a short time, "the king not having settled on any one". On 20th July, 1299, he was made Warden of the Ports and Constable of the Castle with a salary of £300 per annum. "The goods of felons and fugitives, fines, ransoms and amercements and other profits of the ports being saved to the king."

A commission was issued to Ralph de Sandwich and one other in this year to inquire by a jury of the Cinque Ports concerning complaints made by the barons and commonalty of the town of Dover against their Warden. They were to report fully to the king and council, but as nothing was done we may imagine that the charges were either unjustified or unproved. In the same year we find another commission appointed to report upon Robert de Burghersh's claim to sixty acres of land in Westhamme, which he declared the king held unlawfully through his mother. In 1304 he was ordered with others to proceed to the King of France and "demand and receive from him satisfaction for losses inflicted at sea upon the king's people of the Cinque Ports". The commission was afterwards quashed, and the Warden did not go. The cause for this alteration is explained by a mandate issued

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the same year to the Warden and two others, to collect with all speed in the port of Sandwich twenty ships, from all the Cinque Port towns except Dover, each ship to be manned with 200 "defensible" men ashore, and with other things necessary for acts of war. The king "granting these twenty ships as aid to the King of France in his expedition against Flanders". In 1305 he was commanded to inquire into the action of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Winchelsey), who had been prohibited by the king from exercising any jurisdiction over the free chapel at Hastings or any of its prebends. The archbishop disregarding the king's prohibition, attempted to force an entry into the chapel, but being prevented by John de Wycher he excommunicated him. The Warden was ordered to make a report to the king in Parliament, and the archbishop presumably submitted. This was not the only occasion that de Burghersh was in conflict with the archbishop, for the Abbot of Feversham, Geoffrey Bocton, was summoned by him to appear before the Court of Shepway to answer certain charges of usurping royal privileges not within his jurisdiction. The abbot did not appear, judgment was passed in default, and he was fined 500 marks. He was eventually apprehended and confined in Dover Castle. The archbishop thereupon cited de Burghersh to appear in his court, and, as he refused to plead, he was condemned for contumacy. The king commanded the archbishop to reverse his sentence under pains of the severest penalties, and he was compelled to submit. In 1306 de Burghersh, having been appointed with John de Burne, Prince's Attorney and Seneschal of Gascony, proceeded thither to obtain seisin of the same, the king having granted the Duchy of Aquitaine to Edward, Prince of Wales.

William de Bernefield was *locum tenens* of the Con-

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stable of Dover Castle, and John de la Sale acted as Deputy Warden in 1301.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Lyon's *Dover; Arch. Cant.*, x., 232.]

Henry Cobham, of Roundel-in-Shorne.

16th October, 1306, to 30th October, 1307.

In 1284 he answered for the service of one knight's fee for the Abbot of St. Augustine in the Welsh expedition, and received £20 for his expenses. In 1294 he was appointed Governor of the Channel Islands ("Gerneseye and Gereseye"), and at the same time seems to have held the important office of Custos of the coast of Kent, with power to compel service. In 1297 he handed over the "castles, armour, victuals, stocks, etc.," of the Channel Islands to Nicholas de Cheney. He was Sheriff of Wiltshire for some time, and in 1302 was on a commission with Robert de Burghersh to inquire touching vagabonds in the counties of Kent and Sussex. In the following year he was appointed to another commission with de Burghersh and John de Northwood to inquire into the conduct of certain mariners of the Cinque Ports who, whilst on the king's service in Scotland, had withdrawn without licence to the detriment of the expedition. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1306, and with R. de Rokesle was employed in collecting the levy of one-thirtieth from the county and one-twentieth from the towns. He was Warden for a short time only, as in 1307 he was sent on the king's service to Ponthieu. In 1324 he claimed £87 13s. 4d. arrears of salary as Warden, and received payment.

Sir John Waldershare is stated to have been his deputy by Darell.

[*Fin., Pat., Close, and Excheq. Rolls;* Darell; *Arch. Cant.*, xi., 58 *et seq.*]

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Robert de Kendall.

I. *Ante* 3rd November, 1307, to 23rd February, 1315.
II. September, 1315, to 12th October, 1320.
III. 21st May, 1324, to 14th December, 1325.
IV. September, 1326, to March, 1327.

He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle soon after the accession of Edward II. In November he was instructed to permit "Master John de Ferreria, the Pope's chaplain, to pass over seas with his horses and equipment, and silver vessels, to wit 12 dishes, a cup with a golden foot, 12 silver spoons, and 60 marks for his expenses". A few days later he was commanded to prevent the introduction of bulls and papal letters into the kingdom. The fleet of the Cinque Ports was called out in June of the next year, with orders to rendezvous at Skymburness, but the order was cancelled in August. In 1310 he was associated with Henry de Cobham, *juvenis*, in assessing and levying the one twenty-fifth granted to the king for the war in Scotland. The barons of the Cinque Ports were permitted to appear before the barons of the Exchequer to arrange the amount of a fine which they would pay in preference to the general levy. During the next three years he was constantly ordered to inquire into accusations of piracy and attack brought against the seamen of the Cinque Ports by the merchants of Flanders, and it is evident that very serious damage was done to those merchants at this time. In 1311 we see a reference to the troubled state of the kingdom in a mandate issued to the Warden to attack and punish all persons who interfered with the safe transit of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned to attend the General Council, and to whom the king had confided weighty matters of state. In the following year the barons are

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directed to give credence to William, whom the king has commanded to declare to them *vivâ voce* certain matters touching himself. This may have been something connected with the death of Piers Gaveston, who was executed by the rebellious barons at Warwick this year; whatever this communication was the barons of the Ports seem to have accepted it, for they remained true to their allegiance. Some repairs were done to the Castle about this time, and the Prior of St. Augustine, who had been fined 600 marks, was directed to send 200 marks towards defraying the expense. The barons of the Exchequer were also ordered to make allowance for this charge in receiving the Warden's accounts. In the spring of 1313 the king proceeded to France, and we learn, from various orders issued to the Constable, several interesting items of information respecting the expenses of his journey and the methods adopted to meet them. The Constable is ordered to find £200 for the cost of the king's passage, as well as 13s. 4d. a day for the support of the archers left behind in the Castle. The Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and several other ecclesiastics, were directed to provide 270 quarters of wheat and 300 quarters of barley, between them, "for provision of food at Dover Castle on the king's return from parts beyond sea". Sixpence a day was also directed to be paid to each of "six Saracens" whom the king had sent on before him on his return journey.

In 1315 Kendall was charged with taking bribes from certain "malefactors" of Rye who had piratically seized upon a ship of Flanders, to save them yielding up their booty. He was deprived of his office, and the new Warden, Lord Cobham, was appointed, with Roger le Sauvage and Robert de Tuketon, to inquire into his actions. They were to inquire into his conduct, and hear the complaints

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of all who wished their grievances against the late Warden redressed. The charges were evidently not proved, for he was reinstated as Warden in the September of the same year.

In 1316 the Warden was directed to proceed in person to all the ports and urge the barons to provide as many ships as possible for as long a period as he can induce them to serve, "for the better keeping of the English seas". A similar order was issued to the guardians of the coast north and south of the Cinque-Port district.

In 1320 he was succeeded as Warden by Lord Badlesmere, but was reappointed in 1324 and held office until the end of the following year. In September, 1326, he was again Warden, and was finally supplanted by Lord Burghersh in March, 1327. He seems to have been a capable officer, but not overstrict about money matters. The vicissitudes he experienced as Warden may be explained by the unsettled state of parties in the realm.

Valentine de Bere (1308), William le Lou (1313) and Peter de Hanekyng (1315) are all mentioned as his deputies in charge of the port of Dover.

Sir Ralph de Camoys is reputed to have acted as joint Warden with de Kendall in 1325.

William d'Averanche, Robert de Hereford and Nicholas de Crioill are also mentioned as Lieutenants during Edward II.'s reign.

[*Pat., Fin., Close, and French Rolls; Plea Rolls, West.*, 8 Ed. II.; Lyon; Rymer.]

Henry, Lord Cobham.

24th February, 1315, to September, 1315.

This Lord Cobham is called "*Juvenis*" to distinguish him from his uncle, Henry Cobham of Roundel-in-Shorne. In 1299 he was engaged in the Scottish expedition, and

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in 1304 he was made, like his father before him, Constable of the Castle and City of Rochester for life. On the suppression of the Templars he was appointed Custodian of all their lands in Surrey and Sussex, with a small exception, to hold them during the king's pleasure. In 1293 he was summoned to Parliament as first Baron Cobham. As Constable of Rochester Castle he received into his custody the wife of Robert Bruce, whose descendants, the Dukes of Lenox, became, three centuries later, the owners of the Cobham estates. In 1315 he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, "*in qua de enquirendo de gestu R. Kendall nuper Cust. V. P.*". He was Sheriff of Kent in 1316 and Constable of Canterbury Castle. In 1324 he was made Governor of Tonbridge Castle. During the struggle between the king and the barons Cobham remained true to his allegiance, and was probably present at the battle of Boroughbridge. He presided at the trial of Lord Badlesmere (*q. v.*). He died in 1339, and was buried at Stoke-under-Hamden in Somersetshire.

[*Pat. Rolls; Close Rolls; Arch. Cant.*, xi.]

Robert de Kendall.

September, 1315, to 12th October, 1320.

(*Vide ante.*)

Bartholomew, Baron de Badlesmere.

13th October, 1320, to 20th August, 1321.

A powerful and turbulent baron, with large possessions in Kent. In 1312 he was Governor of the Castle, Town and Barton of Bristol, and was directed to hand it over, under pain of forfeiture, to Edmund de Malo Lacu. He joined himself to the party of dissatisfied barons under the Earl of Lancaster, and, probably by their influence,

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displaced de Kendall as Warden. He does not seem to have been much in Dover, and his place in the Castle was supplied by William de Scothou. In 1321 he was on the king's affairs in the north. In this year the queen, Isabella of France, went on a pilgrimage from Brotherton to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, and on her road demanded shelter for a night at Badlesmere's Castle at Leeds, in Kent. Lady Badlesmere, in her husband's absence, refused admission, and killed six of the royal escort in driving them away from the castle. Badlesmere hurried to Leeds, and instead of making his submission, wrote an insolent letter to the queen. His castle was taken, and the seneschal and eleven of the garrison were hanged before the gates, and Lady Badlesmere suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower of London. Badlesmere himself was executed at Canterbury early in 1322.

[*Pat. and Close Rolls;* Add. MSS., 34, 149; Strickland; Lyon.]

Sir Hugh le Despenser, juvenis.

1321.

One of Edward II.'s favourites, his affection for whom caused his downfall. He seems to have succeeded Lord Badlesmere for a short time in 1321, and is supposed to have again held office as Warden of the Ports in 1323. In 1320 he was joined with Lord Badlesmere on the king's service in Gascony, and served in Scotland at the siege of Dunbar. His place in history is too well defined to need any comment here. Suffice it to say that, owing to the queen's influence, he was executed on 29th November, 1326.

[*Close Rolls; Fin. Rolls;* Langtoft's *Chronicle.*]

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Edmund de Woodstoke, Earl of Kent.

21st August, 1321, to 17th April, 1323.

He was the youngest son of Edward I. by his second wife, Margaret of France. In 1306 he was receiving an income from his father of 7000 marks. In 1319 he was Lord of the Castle of Knaresborough. In 1321 he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, and also Guardian of Tonbridge Castle. He was one of those who besieged Leeds Castle, and assisted in its capture. He sided with the king against the barons, and assisted at the siege of Pontefract Castle, and was present when, after the Battle of Boroughbridge, the Earl of Lancaster was executed there. In 1323 he resigned the office of Warden, and proceeded to the Scotch wars where he exhibited considerable violence and severity. He was next sent on an embassy to France which did not end successfully, and on proceeding to Gascony was defeated there by Charles of Valois. He eventually joined the conspiracy against his brother, and attached himself to the queen and Robert Mortimer. He was present at Bristol when on 26th October, 1326, the young Prince Edward was made guardian of the realm. He afterwards joined the party which was opposed to Mortimer and Isabella, but speedily fell a victim to their revenge, for he was executed at Winchester on 19th March, 1329. During his period of office as Warden he communicated to the barons of the Ports a letter of thanks from Edward II. for the services rendered to him, and for the honour they had paid to Hugh le Despenser, *juvenis*.

[*Pat. Rolls; Fin. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog;* Lyon.]

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Sir John Peeche, Baron Wormleighton.

17th April, 1323, to 21st May, 1324.

He was a favourite of the king's and was sent by him to demand the surrender of Warwick Castle, with orders to imprison all those who offered to defend it. He was appointed Warden in 1323, and was immediately instructed to have the whole service of ships due from the ports at Dalkeye near Dublin. Twenty-seven vessels only arrived, although the full number of men had been sent, and he was commanded to go in person to the barons and see that the king's wishes were complied with. His deputy in the Castle was Stephen Easole. He was accused of treason on the accession of Edward III., and his lands were seized. On trial, however, he was acquitted and his estates restored. He died about 1339.

[*Pat., Fin., and Exchequer Rolls; Plea Rolls, West.*; Lyon.]

Robert de Kendall.

21st May, 1324, to 15th December, 1325.

(*Vide ante.*)

Ralph, Baron Basset de Drayton.

15th December, 1325, to September, 1326.

He was knighted at the same time as Prince Edward, and accompanied the king in his expedition to Scotland. Having quitted his station without sanction his lands were declared forfeit, but having made his peace with the king they were returned to him. He was Governor of the Castles of Stafford and Northampton, and Seneschal of Aquitaine. Whilst exercising this office he came into conflict with the King of France, who built a fort on

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some land which he had acquired within the jurisdiction of the duchy. The inhabitants refusing to recognise the authority of the seneschal he had it destroyed by force, and several of the defenders were slain. In 1318 he was one of certain "Prelates, Earls and Barons" sent to treat with the Earl of Lancaster at Northampton "upon the profit and honour of the king and his realm," and a *modus vivendi* was by them established between the opposing parties in the State. In 1321 he was one of a special commission sent to Essex, and in the same year he is spoken of as fighting the king's enemies, probably at Pontefract. He was one of the supporters of the king's favourites the de Spensers, and whilst Constable of Dover Castle was commanded to receive with all respect the queen and Prince Edward if they should come within his jurisdiction. He was afterwards appointed Governor of the Channel Islands.

Sir Nicholas Kiriell (Crioill) acted as Constable of the Castle during his Wardenship, and as he had been admiral of the fleet, "from the Thames to the West," he has sometimes been placed in the list of Wardens.

[*Close, Fin., and Exchequer Rolls;* Lyon.]

Robert de Kendall.

September, 1326, to March, 1327.

(*Vide ante.*)

Bartholomew, Baron de Burghersh.

I. March, 1327, to February (?), 1330.
II. 1337, a few months.
III. 1343 to 1355.

He was the son of Robert, Lord Burghersh, a former Warden of the Cinque Ports, and a nephew, on the mother's side, of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere. He was one of the most powerful of the English barons, and

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was a bitter opponent of the Earl of Lancaster during the reign of Edward II. He was with Lord Badlesmere in the Scottish expedition of 1317, and was one of the garrison of Leeds Castle when the queen was refused shelter. He was taken prisoner when the castle fell, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. When Isabella and Prince Edward landed in 1326 he at once joined her, having previously made his peace, and was made Warden of the Ports and Constable of Dover Castle almost immediately after the deposition of Edward II. The disturbed relations between England and France made the position of the Warden one of great responsibility, and immediately on his appointment he was directed to survey all ships in his "bailiwick," and cause them to be repaired. He was sent on a mission to the continent in this year, and left Thomas Miles and Thomas de Evesham as his deputies. Although Edward III. was only fourteen he was, in December, 1327, married to Philippa of Hainault, who with her father landed at Dover, and Lord Burghersh was appointed, with William de] Clynton, to receive them, and convey them in safety to the king. He was appointed Keeper of Ewyas Lacy Castle, and Custodian of Tonbridge and Rochester Castles in the same year, 1327. The free chapel at Hastings was again a cause of trouble to the Warden in the next year, for he was ordered to visit it and repair defects in the books and ornaments. He was also to inquire into the conduct of the ministers who had been accused of brawls, dissolute behaviour and neglect of duty. The next year he received a grant of the Manor of Whitewyk, and was sent on a mission with William de Monte Acuto to the Pope to plead for aid from the Church funds, and appointed William de Scothou and William de Herlastan his deputies. The Pope granted one-tenth of the value of the

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English Church. The cost of this mission was £1318 16s. 8d., and an account of it is to be found in the *Patent Rolls* in the record of a debt to Dinus Forsetti, of the Society of Bardi of Florence contracted "for an advance to the ambassadors sent by the king to the Pope to pay 1000 marks on account of the annual tribute and their expenses". The barons of the Cinque Ports were summoned by him to bear the canopy at the coronation of Edward in 1330, and in May of that year he received a grant for life of five manors escheated to the king through forfeiture of Edmund, Earl of Kent. The conditions under which he received this grant were that he should "stay always with the king with twenty men-at-arms in time of war". In 1331 he was accused of abducting the wife of John de Asceles, and a commission was appointed to investigate the charge. In October of the same year he was appointed Seneschal and Keeper of the "land and County of Monstreuil and Ponthieu, and appointed William de Scothou and John de Sancto Paulo, clerks in holy orders, his attorneys". He remained abroad until 1333, and on his return remained constantly with the king. He accompanied him in his French wars, and was present at the battle of Crecy in 1346. He had been admiral of the fleet in 1337, and seems to have acted as Warden in the same year. In 1349 he was in Gascony with the Earl of Lancaster. In 1343 he was again appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports for life, and was instructed to stop all ships of over thirty tons' burden. No ship of any kind was to leave the kingdom without special warrant from the king. In 1350 he was joined with the Earl of Huntingdon as Wardens of the Sea Coast, and in 1352 they were both directed to defend the coast of Kent from an expected attack of the French.

He died in August, 1355, and was buried in the

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chantry of St. Catherine in Lincoln Minster, and his tomb may still be seen there. His brother was the Bishop of Lincoln.

Nicholas Traly was his deputy for the port of Dover.

[*Pat., Close, and French Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Lyon.]

William de Clynton, Earl of Huntingdon.

February, 1330, to 1343.

Brother of John le Scot, Earl of Chester, he was a brave and successful soldier, high in the favour of the king. He seems to have owed his first advancement to services rendered to Queen Isabella whilst she was abroad. In 1327 a promise of £200 a year in land made to him by the queen was fulfilled, and he received three manors. He married, in 1327, Juliana, widow of John de Hastyng, and thereby materially increased his wealth and importance. In 1330 he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, Justice of Chester and Custos of the Castles of Chester, Bechestan, Rothelan and Flint, and Custos of Flint county. In 1332 he provided 300 archers from the county of Cheshire for the king's expedition to Scotland. In 1334 he was one of a commission appointed to treat with the King of France concerning all questions in dispute touching Edward's lands in the Duchy of Aquitaine and elsewhere. He was also instructed to treat with the Count of Bloys for the marriage of his daughter Mary with the Earl of Cornwall. During his period of office as Warden he had to summon the Cinque Port fleet on several occasions, and he had the honour of commanding it during the battle of Sluys in 1340, one of the most magnificent of England's naval victories. He had in 1337 been created Earl of Huntingdon, and by the "advice of the Prelates, Earls, Barons

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and others of the Council in Parliament assembled," he received 1000 marks in tail male yearly of land and rents "the better to support the estate of Earl of Huntingdon". The manors of Kirketon in Lincolnshire, and Holme and Glatton in Huntingdonshire were then granted him, together with the reversion of the Castle of Huntingdon. He was Constable of the Tower of London. He died in 1354, and was buried at Mortlake.

William Trussell and Jocelin de Gateleye acted at one time as his deputies in the Castle.

[*Pat., Close, and French Rolls;* Lyon.]

Bartholomew, Baron de Burghersh.

1343 to 1355.

(*Vide ante.*)

Roger de Mortuo Mari (*Mortimer*), *Earl of March, K.G.*

1355 to 1359.

He was the son of Edmund Mortimer, second earl, and Elizabeth Badlesmere, and was born in 1327. The execution of his famous grandfather left him to pay the penalty of a treason of which he was innocent, but he was not unjustly treated, for he received back his honours and estates. At the age of seventeen he distinguished himself greatly at a tournament held at Hereford, and was conspicuous for his gallantry in the expedition to France. He was knighted at La Hogue with the prince and a few others. He was present at Crecy, where he was stationed in the third line with the king. It was as a reward for his services in the French wars that his ancestral titles and lands were restored to him. He was one of the original Knights of the Garter. In 1349 he greatly distinguished himself in holding Calais under the Black Prince. He was made Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of the Castle in 1355. His appointment

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was for life, and he received £300 per annum "for the support of himself, the chaplains, servants, watch, and carpenter dwelling in ye said Castle, and for their robes". This stipend was raised from three sources, *viz.*, "of the Wards of ye said Castle £146, out of the custom of his passage of Dover 100 marcs, and the remaining £88 from ye King's Exchequer". He seems as Warden to have caused considerable indignation amongst the portsmen by usurping their rights of holding courts, and otherwise interfering with their chartered liberties. He "drew before him in the Church of St. James, Dover, divers pleas from beyond the various places of the Cinque Ports to their manifest prejudice". Complaints were addressed to the king, and he forbade the Warden to encroach upon the liberties assured to the portsmen under their charters. He seems to have resigned the office in 1359 when he accompanied the king on his expedition to France. He acted as Constable of the Army, and rode in the van at the head of 500 men-at-arms and 1000 archers. St. Florentin fell to his assault, and he conducted himself with his usual conspicuous gallantry.

He died at Rouvray, on his way to Burgundy, in 1360.

The name of Otto Grandisono is given by Jeake as Constable, and he asserts that his appointment was made on 4th August, 1355. He may have acted for the Earl of March but we have found no trace of his having done so.

[*Pat. Rolls; Hist. MSS. Com.*, iv., 426; Add. MSS., 33, 917; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

John, Baron de Bello Campo (Beauchamp) de Warwick, K.G.

25th January, 1359, to 2nd December, 1360.

The second son of Guy, Earl of Warwick, and brother of Thomas the eleventh earl. His mother was Alice,

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daughter of Ralph de Toni of Flamsted, Hertfordshire. He was one of the leading soldiers of his day, and was one of the original Knights of the Garter. He carried the royal standard at the battle of Crecy, and was present at the surrender of Calais. He was captain of that town in 1358, and was made a banneret about the same time. He was summoned to Parliament as Lord Beauchamp de Warwick in 1350. He was appointed Constable of the Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1359 and held office until his death in December, 1360. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

[*Pat. Rolls; Complete Peerage.*]

Sir Richard de Herle.

26th January, 1361, to July, 1364.

He held land at Broughton in Warwickshire. He was appointed Constable of the Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1361 for life, and in the previous year he received a grant of lands in "Westhall, Hatherwicke, Redesdale, Overham, Cresswell and Leghes," which belonged to various adherents of Gilbert de Midleton, betrayer of Edward II. In 1364 the king came to the Castle to arrange a marriage between Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, and Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Flanders. Sir Richard was made admiral of the whole fleet in 1361, at that time a most unusual appointment. He died in 1364.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Lyon.]

Ralph Spigurnell.

7th July, 1364, to June, 1369.

The son of Henry Spigurnell, one of Edward III.'s judges, and owner of considerable properties in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Essex. In 1360 he was

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appointed with Thomas de Baddely to remove the King of France from Somerton. He was appointed admiral of the whole fleet, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle in 1364, and was succeeded as Warden in 1369 by Sir Richard de Pembrugge. In October of that year he was ordered to send men from the different ports to the king to consult about the navy. He was also on a commission "to make a survey from Stonar to Cliffs-end, and from thence to Fordwich; as the Abbot of St. Augustine's Monastery, by banking in the Waste land to fence against the sea, had interrupted the navigation of Minster, in Thanet, and injured the trade and the duties paid at that place".

[Rymer; Lyon.]

Sir Richard de Pembrugge, K.G.

21st June, 1369-1371.

He was a follower of Roger Mortimer, and was a successful soldier and courtier. In 1328 he was Governor of Droslan Castle and was constantly appointed to serve on various commissions of the peace. He was present at the battle of Sluys on 26th June, 1340, and was present at Crecy and Poitiers. In 1359 he was again fighting in France, but in 1361 was made Governor of Southampton Castle, Lyndhurst Park, the New Forest and Hundred of Redbridge. In 1367 he was Governor of Bamborough Castle and was made a K.G. in the following year. In 1369 he was appointed Warden of the Ports and Constable of Dover Castle. He was present at the naval action of Bourgneuf in 1371, and was one of the king's chamberlains. In 1373 he was ordered to Ireland to act as the king's deputy, but, refusing to go, his lands were seized. They were, however, restored to him, for on his death in July, 1375, he was possessed of the

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Manors of Clehonger, Straddegand and Monyton in Herefordshire, and Bargate in Hampshire, which had been given him in 1367. He married Elizabeth, widow of Gerard de Lisle. His tomb still exists in Hereford Cathedral.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Lyon; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Andrew de Guldeford.

1371-1372.

In the Streatfield Manuscripts in the British Museum there is an appointment, dated 34 (?) Edward III., to Andrew de Guldeford, "*quod teneat custodiam Castri Regis Dovōr*". This would place his appointment as Constable of the Castle in 1360, during the Wardenship of Lord Beauchamp de Warwick. He seems to have succeeded Sir Richard de Pembrugge in 1371 as Warden of the Ports, and held it until the appointment of Lord Latymer in the following year. He was probably a member of the family of Guldeford of Hemsted, Kent.

Giles de Badlesmere, Sir Thomas Brockwell, Ralph de Valoignes and Peter Read are mentioned by Philipot as Lieutenants of the Castle during Edward III.'s reign. A considerable number must have been employed, especially during the last twenty years.

William, Lord Latymer, K.G.

1372-1376.

The son of the third baron, he succeeded to his father's title and estate in his sixth year. In 1351 he was in the king's service at Calais, and in 1359 was made Governor of Bécherel in Brittany. Two years later he was made a Knight of the Garter, and was present at the siege of Auray. He came back to England on a mission, and was appointed to several positions

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of importance. He was made Warden of the forests beyond Trent in 1368, Chamberlain to the king in 1369, Warden of the West March of Scotland in 1370, a Trier of Petitions for England, Wales and Scotland in 1371. In 1372 he was made Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of the Castle, and in 1373 was appointed to treat with Ferdinando of Portugal. The "Good Parliament," 1376, impeached him, and it is noteworthy that it is the first time a minister of the Crown was impeached by Parliament. He was accused of oppression in Brittany; of selling the castle of St. Sauveur to the enemy; of impeding the relief of Bécherel in 1375; of taking bribes for the release of captured ships; of retaining fines paid to the king; and of obtaining money from the Crown in repayment of fictitious loans. He was found guilty by the Lords, and was condemned to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. On 26th May of the same year he was released on bail, and in the following year was pardoned on payment of a fine of 20,000 marks, and was reappointed Warden of the forests beyond Trent. He was also appointed four years running a Trier of Petitions for England, Scotland and Wales. He took part in the fight at Sluys against the Spaniards, and was commissioned with the Earl of Cambridge in 1377 to defend the coasts of Kent and Sussex against the French, "whom the King hears have landed in force". He accompanied the Duke of Gloucester as Constable of the Army on his expedition through Brittany, and was present at the siege of Nantes. He died of a stroke of paralysis on 28th May, 1381. He has been described as a man of "very lax morality, and a slave to avarice: proud, cruel, irreligious, dissolute and untrustworthy". He was, however, a soldier of some merit.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.; Pat. Rolls;* Rymer's *Fœdera.*]

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Sir Thomas Reines.

1376.

According to Dugdale, Sir Thomas Reines was appointed Warden in this year. It is more than probable that he was acting as Lord Latimer's deputy, and was merely continued as the *locum tenens* of the king when that nobleman was impeached until the appointment of the new Warden, the Earl of Cambridge, in June.

[Lyon; Hasted, who quotes Dugdale *Imp.* 33.]

Edmund de Langele, Earl of Cambridge and Duke of York, K.G.

12th June, 1376, to February, 1381.

He was the fifth son of Edward III., and was born at King's Langley, Hertfordshire, on 5th June, 1341. He was created Earl of Cambridge in 1362, and about twenty years later was made the first Duke of York. He accompanied Edward III. on his great French expedition in 1359, and was made a Knight of the Garter two years later. He was with the Black Prince during his invasion of Spain in 1367, and remained abroad until 1372. He married Isabella of Castile, daughter of Pedro the Cruel in that year. Ten years later we find him with John de Montfort appointed the king's lieutenant for the Duchy of Brittany. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports in June, 1376, and held the office until February, 1381. On the accession of Richard II. he was appointed one of the Council of Regency. For nearly two years he was engaged in fruitless expeditions against his own father-in-law in Portugal. After the coronation of Richard II. he took a very small part in the affairs of State, in fact he had never cared for

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political questions, but was a soldier pure and simple. His earlier days were almost entirely spent in active service, and his latter in a well-earned peace. He had the reputation of being a kindly man, and what was unusual in those days, "lived of his own without oppression". He was married again, after the death of Isabella, to Joan, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. She survived him for over thirty years, and married three other husbands. His tenure of office as Warden was made conspicuous by his continuous absence, and his successor was appointed on the condition that he performed the duties personally. Roger de Wylasham acted as his Constable in 1378 and Walter Clopton in 1381. He received a mandate in 1380 for the mayor and bailiffs of Dover to surround the town with a wall of "stone and lime". The Earl of Cambridge died in 1402, and was buried at Langley.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Rymer's *Fœdera; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

Sir Robert Assheton.

1st February, 1381, to 9th January, 1384.

He was a great civil, naval and military officer, and was a favourite with Edward III. The son of Sir John Assheton of the important family of Ashton-under-Lyne, he commenced his career under favourable circumstances. In 1324 we find him returned as a Knight of the Shire to the Parliament in Westminster, and in 1379 he was made Governor of Guynes. Three years later he was appointed Lord Treasurer of England, in 1375 he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, a position he held until the death of Edward III. He was Custodian of Sandgate Castle near Calais, and Admiral of the Narrow Seas in 1369, and Justiciar of Ireland in 1372. He was

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appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle on 1st February, 1381, and the grant of the office was made for life, with a salary of £300, but on four conditions, *viz.* : That he executed the office in person; that he yielded the Manor and Barton of Bristol which he had received in 1377; that he gave up the Custody of the Castle and Town of Porchester to the Earl of Cambridge, and that he paid the late Constable 200 marks. Sir Robert's chief work as Constable was the part he took in the suppression of the peasants' revolt headed by Wat Tyler. The disturbance had its origin in Kent, and the whole county was convulsed from one end to the other. The Warden was placed on the commission for resisting the rebels and enemies of the king, with Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, John de Clynton and ten others. Large numbers of rebels were punished and peace restored, and the peasants, for a time at least, were compelled to live under that system of villenage against which they had risen. Sir R. Asheton died at his post on 9th January, 1384, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary-in-the-Castle.

Sir Richard Malmains was his lieutenant.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Lyon's *Dover; Arch. Cant.*, iii., 70.]

Sir Simon de Burley, K.G.

5th January, 1384, to 3rd January, 1388.

He was a distinguished soldier. At the age of fourteen he served in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Corsairs in 1350. Sixteen years later he was serving with the Black Prince in Aquitaine. In 1367 he was sent on an embassy to Pedro the Cruel, and was present at the battle of Najara. In 1369 he was captured by the French at Lusignan. He was one of Prince Richard's tutors,

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and was made a "Knight of the King's Chamber" to treat for the marriage of Richard with Anne of Bohemia in 1381. As the negotiations were successful, he was rewarded by being made a Knight of the Garter. He was one of her escort when she came to England, and was with her during her ten days' stay in Dover Castle in the following year. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle for life with the usual remuneration but "without rendering any accounts," and on the condition that he executed the office in person. This warrant was dated 5th January, 1384, but on 28th January a new warrant was issued in which it was declared that "the King himself now being in the Castle" had handed over the keys to the said Simon. It was also set forth that as the Castle lands had suffered great loss, and in consideration of his eminent services in France, the Manor of Leybourne, alienated in mortmain to the Crown, was granted to him. In April of the same year he was directed to proclaim that "the King's enemies in France, Spain, Flanders and Brittany were leagued together to destroy the people and 'fortalices' on the English coast by an invasion within a brief time," and to warn "all the inhabitants of the Isle of Thanet and Oxeye, and of six miles round Dover, Rye and Sandwich, to withdraw before the 3rd May into the said Castles and towns for safety; ecclesiastics alone excepted". In 1385 Richard II. invaded Scotland, burnt Edinburgh and ravaged the country, and Simon de Burley accompanied him on this expedition. During the king's troubles with the "five lords" he remained faithful to the king. As a result he was imprisoned in 1387 in Dover Castle, and impeached in the following year on several charges. He was convicted of having caused the young king to form a corrupt court, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn

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and quartered. He was believed by the people to have intended selling Dover Castle to the French, an opinion which was circulated and encouraged by the abbot and monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. The queen begged for his life on her knees to the Earl of Arundel, but he rejected her appeal with insolence. At the king's instance the mode of his death was changed, and he was beheaded on 5th May, 1388. The king was enraged at his execution. Eleven years later his conviction was formally reversed. Froissart grieved for him as a wise and gentle knight, and as a man of culture. In the *Issue Rolls* his bed is described as having been of "green tarteryn embroidered with ships and birds". He was buried in Old St. Paul's, and a copy of his monument is to be seen in Dugdale.

Sir William Walworth was probably his deputy.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Rymer's *Fœdera; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

Sir John Devereux, K.G.

3rd January, 1388-1393.

He was one of Edward III.'s knights, and received a grant for life of 200 marks annually for his services to the Black Prince on his journey into Spain and his war in Guienne. In 1378 he was made Constable of Leeds Castle for life, and in 1382 he was Captain of Calais. The Duke of Brittany bestowed an annual grant of 100 marks upon him for services rendered. He succeeded Sir Simon de Burley as Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, and was almost immediately ordered to keep in safe custody Sir John Beauchamp de Holt, Sir Thomas Tryvet, Sir John Salisbury and John Lincoln, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He received several grants of lands in 1390 and 1391, amongst others

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those of John Holt, and the Castle and Manor of Leonhall lately belonging to Simon de Burley. In 1390 a petition was presented to the House of Commons to the effect that "the Constable may hold no plea in the County of Kent but such as relate to the guard of the Castle". The exact time of his yielding the office to his successor is uncertain, but it was probably in the beginning of 1393.

Roger Wigmore and John Clinton were his lieutenants.

[*Pat. Rolls; Rye Corp. Papers;* Rymer; Lyon; Jeake.]

John, Baron de Bello Monte (Beaumont).

5th May, 1393, to September, 1396.

The eldest son of Henry, Lord Beaumont, he was one of Richard's favourites and therefore came under the displeasure of the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and was dismissed the court. He went to Calais and distinguished himself as a valiant knight, and on his return was made Custodian of Sherborne Castle. He was also Warden of the Welsh Marches, a post he filled with energy and bravery. When, in 1389, the king triumphed over the "five lords appellant," and ruled the kingdom in person, he was again received into favour. He was shortly afterwards made Admiral of the fleet. In 1393 he was made Warden of the Ports and Constable of the Castle. In 1394 Richard sailed to Ireland, and the Cinque Ports' fleet was called out for the first time in this reign. In 1396 he was sent to the Court of France to treat for the marriage of Isabella, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., with Richard, then a widower. The negotiations were successful, and Isabella, then eight years old, landed in Dover, and remained one night in

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the Castle. Lord Beaumont died in 1396, and was Warden at his death.

John Hakenthorpe and Arnold Savage acted as his deputies.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Add. MSS., 34, 147, 148; Rymer; Lyon.]

Edmund, Duke of York and Aumerle.

11th September, 1396, to February, 1398.

He was the grandson of Edward III. and son of Edmund de Langley, and was created Earl of Rutland during his father's lifetime. Towards the end of his reign Richard loaded him with favours, and he was appointed to several positions of honour. He was Admiral of the fleet north of the Thames, Justice of all the forests south of the Trent, Constable of the Tower of London, Governor of the Channel Islands, High Constable of England. He received a grant of the Isle of Wight with Carisbrook Castle, and many other estates, especially of those nobles who had been attainted by Parliament. He was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1397. In 1396, when Richard sailed to Calais to fetch Isabella of France, he was appointed regent of the kingdom during the king's absence, and his patent was signed in Dover Castle. He took sides with Henry of Lancaster against Richard II. when the former landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire in 1399. He died as a result of the fatigue he experienced in the battle of Agincourt in 1415.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Rymer's *Fœdera;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

John March, Marquess of Dorset and Somerset, K.G.,

5th February, 1398, to August, 1399.

He was the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swynford, and was born in 1370. He was legitimated by act of Parliament in February, 1397, and in

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the same year was made a Knight of the Garter, and created Earl of Somerset (February), and Marquess of Somerset and Dorset (September). In 1398 he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, and Admiral of the fleet. In 1399 he was degraded from the marquisate, and at the coronation of Henry IV. he carried the second sword as earl. He was made Great Chamberlain of England for life, and two years later was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1401 he was Captain of Calais, and in 1406-7 was Admiral of the fleets north and west. He married Margaret, sister and co-heiress of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent. He died on 21st April, 1410, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

Robert de Berneye was Lieutenant of the Castle during his period of office.

[*Pat. Rolls; Complete Peerage.*]

Sir Thomas Erpyngham, K.G.

21st August, 1399-1409.

He accompanied John of Gaunt into Spain in 1385, and was considered one of the best soldiers of the day. He was a strong adherent of Henry of Lancaster, and was one of the council for pronouncing and proclaiming the deposition of Richard II., towards whose friends he acted with uncalled for ferocity. The council decided that the queen should be "returned into France with all such jewels and habiliments as the deposed king had with her in marriage". The commons of Kent made complaint against his conduct as Constable to Parliament, the answer they received was "that the King's council, upon sight of the old liberties, shall have power to take order therein". Parliament petitioned the king to remember his services for the way in which he "adventured himself with the King at his coming into the Kingdom". He was

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appointed Warden of the Ports and Constable in 1399, and resigned these offices to Prince Henry in 1409. He gave the signal for the battle of Agincourt by throwing his baton into the air. He was made Knight of the Garter, and Master of the King's Household.

Andrew Butler was his Lieutenant of the Castle after Richard Berneye.

[Add. MSS., B.M., 33, 917; *Pat. Rolls; Gesta, Hen. V.*]

Henry, Prince of Wales.

1409-1413.

He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of the Castle in the year 1409, soon after he had attained his majority. He was a skilful and resolute soldier, quick in decision and prompt to act. He had been with the king in his war with the Welsh, and was present at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1404. He is also said to have been deeply and unfeignedly religious. "In 1410 when a heretic, Badly, was led to be burnt, the prince in vain urged him to recant. As the flames blazed up, the poor wretch, stung by the torment, cried for mercy. The prince bade the executioners drag away the blazing fagots, and offered Badly support for his lifetime if he would abandon his heresy." The Lollard refused, and the executioner was permitted to finish his fearful task. The stories about the prince giving himself up to the society of low debauchees, and of his being sent to prison for striking the Chief Justice Gascoigne are very likely exaggerations, but from the fact that he ran greatly into debt and was on bad terms with the king, we may believe that there was some foundation for them. He does not seem to have resided much in Dover Castle; and it is probable that Sir Thomas Erpyngham acted as Constable. He was directed in December,

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1409, to proclaim the treaty made with the Duke of Burgundy by which safety for the merchants on the seas was guaranteed for three years. In the following year the Admiral of England and the Lieutenant of the Cinque Ports were appointed conservators of the peace. In 1412 the fleet of the Cinque Ports was called out, and as the king was supporting the Armagnacs against the Duke of Burgundy it was probably in connection with the rupture of the treaty that their services were required. The king dying in 1413, the prince became king, and appointed the Earl of Surrey his successor in the control of the Cinque Ports.

Sir Richard Barry was his Lieutenant for a time.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Gardiner's *His. Eng.;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Surrey and Arundel, K.B.

March, 1413, to November, 1415.

His father was the famous earl in the reign of Richard II. who won a great naval victory over the French, Flemings and Spaniards in 1387, and was executed ten years later. At the time of his death Thomas was sixteen years of age and was given by the king into the charge of his half-brother, John Holland, Duke of Exeter. He and his sister were subjected to the most cruel treatment by their guardian, having to perform the menial office of pulling off his boots, and drudging like slaves. He eventually escaped to the continent and joined Henry of Lancaster, and landed with him at Ravenspur in 1399. He was one of the original Knights of the Bath and acted as king's butler at the coronation of Henry IV. He received back his father's estates and his titles were restored to him. In 1400 he took the field against the nobles who rose in arms to support the deposed king. The revolt of Owen Glendower in 1401 compelled him to defend his lands, with ill success, as he confessed, against that powerful

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Welshman for four years. The rising in the north headed by Scrope, the Archbishop of York, and Mowbray, Earl Marshal, summoned him away on the king's service. The Welsh troubles had almost reduced him to poverty, and the king found the money with which he was enabled to celebrate his marriage with Beatrice, natural daughter of John I. of Portugal. He was sent abroad to serve with the Duke of Burgundy, and captured St. Cloud from the Orleanists. On the accession of Henry V. he was made Treasurer of England and Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle. He accompanied the king on his expedition to France in 1415, and was present at the siege of Harfleur. He was one of the many who suffered from dysentery during that operation, and came home to die on 13th October in the same year.

Andrew Boteler and John Mortimer are given by Philipot as Lieutenants about this time.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, K.G.

27th November, 1415-1447.

He was the youngest son of Henry IV., and was born in 1391. He is grandiloquently described in the *Hythe Corporation Papers* as the "son and brother of kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Pembroke, Chamberlain of England, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle". He is perhaps better known under the title of "Good Duke Humphrey". At the age of eight he was made a Knight of the Garter, and in 1403 was at the battle of Shrewsbury. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and made a presentation of books to the library of that university on its organisation by Richard

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Courtenay the Chancellor. His first public appointment was given him at the age of twenty-two, when he was made Chamberlain. His patents as Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Gloucester are dated 16th May, 1414. He was on the commission which ordered the execution of the Archbishop of York and the Earl Marshal. He commanded one of the three divisions of the king's army in France, and was present at Harfleur and Agincourt. In the latter memorable battle he was unhorsed and wounded whilst opposing the advance of the Duc d'Alençon and his followers. His services were rewarded with many valuable grants, among others he was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports in November, 1415, and Constable of Carisbrooke Castle, and in 1416 was made Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of all royal forests, parks and warrens south of the Trent. One of his first duties as Constable of Dover Castle was to receive Sigismund, King of the Romans. His mode of reception was peculiar, for we are told that he rode into the sea with a drawn sword in his hand and obtained a promise from Sigismund that he would not claim or exercise any jurisdiction in England. A king's mandate to the Constable orders him to provide ships to bring the King of the Romans across the channel, and provides that no one shall take money from him or his retinue for "victuals or horseshoes". In 1416 he was ordered to provide a fleet from the Cinque Ports for the defence of Calais. In the following year he accompanied the king on his second expedition to France, leaving John Mosdale as Lieutenant of the Castle. The queen returned with the king in 1421, and was conveyed to Dover in vessels supplied by the Cinque Ports, and in the next year they furnished the fleet which carried her back from Southampton. His foolish marriage with Jacqueline of Bavaria

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gave him the sovereignty of Holland, Hainault and Zealand, and he occupied Hainault with 5000 troops in 1424; Geoffrey Lowther being his deputy in Dover. He deserted Jacqueline for Eleanor, daughter of Lord Cobham of Sterborough, and his disgraceful treatment of his unfortunate wife made him very unpopular. The marriage was annulled in 1428 by the Pope. He returned to England in 1425, ruined in his finances and broken in health. He was appointed in 1426, as Warden, on a commission with Thomas, Duke of Exeter and Richard, Earl of Lancaster, to "redress the infractions of the treaty with Scotland". In 1435 the death of the Duke of Bedford made him heir to the throne, and in 1441, Eleanor Cobham, whom he had married, was accused and convicted of consulting an astrologer as to the probable time of the young king's death, and employing the witch of Eye to make an image of the king in wax, and melt it before the fire, with the idea that as the wax melted the king's life would waste away. The astrologer was hanged, the witch burnt, and the duchess, after perambulating the streets of London bareheaded for three days, was imprisoned for life, and died in Peel Castle in the Isle of Man. In 1447 the Duke of Gloucester was charged with high treason in the Parliament held at Bury St. Edmunds, but was found dead in his bed before he had time to answer his accusers. He was generally supposed to have been murdered, and it is certain that Henry VI. suspected him of designs upon his person. He was dissolute, rapacious and untrustworthy, whilst his powers as an administrator were of the feeblest character.

John Reynesford was also his Lieutenant in the Castle.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Rymer's *Fœdera;* Gardiner; Lyon; *Hythe Corporation Papers; His. MSS. Com.*]

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James Fenys, Lord Saye and Sele.

24th February, 1447 to 1450.

He was the second son of Sir William Fenys and Elizabeth de Batisford, a great Sussex heiress, and younger brother of Roger de Fenys, Lord Treasurer to the king. He was one of Henry V.'s successful captains in the French wars, and obtained several grants of lands for his services. In 1430 he attended the young king to Paris when he was conducted there by the Duke of Bedford for his coronation. He was a favourite of the king, and, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester, was created Baron Saye and Sele, and appointed Lord Chamberlain. On 24th February, 1447, he received from the king in "special tail for himself and heirs male the Castle of Dover and all the services called Castle Wards"; but he granted all his rights under this patent to the Duke of Buckingham ten years later. As he was a strong supporter of the incapable Duke of Suffolk he became extremely unpopular, and was accused in Parliament of extortion and maladministration, probably with truth. Parliament endeavoured to force the king to imprison him because he consented to the surrender of Maine and Anjou. Jack Cade's rebellion followed in 1450, and Lord Saye and Sele was sent to the Tower. The governor, Lord Scales, gave him up to the mob when London opened its gates to Cade, and he was beheaded at the Standard in Cheapside with his son-in-law. He was buried in the church of the Grey Friars in London, and left the monks £100 to say 400 masses for his soul.

Gervaise Clifton was his Lieutenant.

[Rymer's *Fœdera;* Gardiner's *England; Pat. Rolls;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

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Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

1450 to 10th July, 1460.

He was one of Henry V.'s captains and made his reputation in France. He held the important position of Captain of Calais. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle for life on the death of Lord Saye and Sele, and in 1451 the rights he had obtained from the former Warden were recognised, and Dover Castle was given to him and his heirs male. In 1455 his son was joined with him in the wardenship. He was a faithful adherent of Henry VI., and lost his life fighting for him against the Yorkist Earls of Salisbury and Warwick at the battle of Northampton in 1460. The following extracts from the accounts of Thomas Hextall, receiver of the Duke of Buckingham, give some idea of the emoluments of the office of Lord Warden in those days. Receipts, £1159 18s. 8d. Expenditure, to Sir Thomas Kiryell (Crioll), Knight, Lieutenant of the Castle, £10; the rector of the parish church within the castle, £3 18s. 11d.; the "Chaplain called Cocklico," £6 13s. 4d.; the carpenter and plumber a penny a day; watchmen, twopence a day; wax bought at Easter, two shillings; clerk and accountant, six shillings and eightpence per annum.

Richard Witherton and Sir Reginald Cobham were Lieutenants before Kiryell (Lord Stafford's MSS.).

[*Roll of Parliament; Pat. Rolls;* Gardiner; Lyon's *Dover;* Lord Stafford's MSS.]

Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury.

10th July, 1460, to 1471.

To give a full account of this nobleman would mean writing the history of England for twenty years from

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1450 to 1471. He is generally known as the "King Maker," and occupied a most prominent place in the affairs of England during the strife of the York and Lancaster factions. He was the eldest son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and grandson of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, who married Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and through her received the titles and estates of the Beauchamps. He sided with his relative the Duke of York when he claimed the regency during the temporary insanity of Henry VI., and when, on the recovery of the king, York took up arms to protect himself against the Duke of Somerset, he accompanied him to the battle of St. Albans, which was fought on 24th May, 1455. Warwick displayed great qualities as a general, and introduced a new feature into mediæval warfare by procuring a tremendous slaughter of the nobles opposed to him. He was rewarded for his services in this battle by the coveted command of Calais for seven years, and supplanted the Duke of Essex as Captain of the Sea. He was conspicuously successful in both offices, and endeared himself to the Cinque Ports by his activity in the channel. In 1458 he attacked twenty-eight Spanish ships with a small fleet of twelve British vessels, and captured six of the enemy. In 1459 he was in England and joined the Yorkist rising in the midlands, and was present at the fiasco at Ludlow. He retired to Calais and defended himself there with some difficulty against the Duke of Somerset, who had been appointed Captain of Calais. With the connivance of the barons he landed at Sandwich in 1460 with 2000 men and marched upon London, his forces increasing every day. The battle of Northampton on 10th July placed the king in his power, and he is supposed to have

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used his influence to prevent Richard, Duke of York, coming to the throne then, preferring to rule over a weak king than to serve a strong one. The second battle of St. Albans in 1461, in which he was defeated, upset his plans, and the battle of Towton a little later in the year gave the kingdom to Edward, Duke of York. The Earl of Warwick was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, Captain of Calais and Warden of the Scotch Marches, Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine, and Justice of the forests north of the Trent, and it is said that the emoluments of his many appointments produced a sum of 80,000 crowns annually. His appointment as Warden was dated 7th May, 1461, and was "a grant for life to the king's kinsman, Richard, Earl of Warwick, of the office of Constable of the King's Castle of Dover, and all rents and services called 'Castlewarde,' and herbage and advowsons pertaining to the same, and the Wardenship of the V. Ports and all forfeitures, shares, wrecks of the sea and other profits; and also £300 yearly for the sustenance of himself and priests, servants, watchmen and other officers there, in the same manner as Humphrey, late Duke of Gloucester, *viz.*, £140 from wards pertaining to the Castle, and £154 from the fee farm of the town of Southampton". An order from Edward IV. is preserved among the archives of the latter town, dated 1st December, 1461, in which the town is commanded to pay the earl £127 6s. 4d. on the following grounds: "Whereas Humphrey, late Duke of Buckingham, the late Constable, died the 10 July, 1460, the late King gave in commandment to our cousin the Earl of Warwick to occupy and exercise that office, of which commission the said Earl occupied that post from the said 10 July until March 4, 1461". Henry VI. had granted the office in 1459 to Henry, Duke of

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Somerset, in tail male, and he is therefore generally included in the list of Constables, but he, evidently, never filled the post.

The earl was much more prominent than the king during the first three years of the reign. The marriage of Edward IV. to Elizabeth Woodville, a Lancastrian, estranged many of his old supporters, and Warwick gradually drifted into a position of antagonism to him. He entered into an alliance with Clarence the king's brother, and stirred up a rising in the north against Edward. A battle was fought at Stamford, and Warwick had to fly the country. He repaired to Calais, but his own officer refused him admission, and he sought refuge in France. The only chance of Warwick regaining his former powerful position, disagreeable as it was to him, was by being reconciled to the Lancastrians, and through the mediation of Louis XI. this was effected. He landed again in England in 1470 and was followed by the men of the Cinque Ports to London, the suburbs of which they pillaged. Edward fled to Holland, and Warwick was once more master of England. He released Henry VI. from the Tower and proclaimed him king again, in spite of the fact that he had now become hopelessly insane. The Earl of Warwick maintained his superiority for a short time only, for in 1471 Edward IV. landed at Ravenspur, and Clarence deserted the King-Maker. The final contest was fought at Barnet in a dense fog, and Warwick was defeated and slain. His body was publicly exposed in London, and was buried at Bisham in Berkshire.

Edward Guldeford is spoken of as his Deputy Warden.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Gardiner; *Nat. Dic. Biog.;* Lyon's *Dover;* MSS. Southampton Town.]

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Sir John Scot.

1471.

During the Wardenship of the Earl of Warwick there must have been several deputies who acted for him during his frequent absences. Philipot mentions the following names: Otho Worseley, John Greensand, Edmund Ince, Thomas Guldeford, Edward Cobham, and Sir John Scot. From the *Rolls of Parliament* we find that the last was *Locum tenens Regis* in Dover Castle in 1471, and that he was commanded to secure the persons of Edward, Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick if they came within his jurisdiction. He was descended from William le Baliol le Scot, elder brother of John Baliol, King of Scotland, and his family had been in possession of the Manor of Evegate for many generations. The manor house was called Scot's Hall.

He was Marshal of Calais, and was sent as ambassador by Edward IV. to the Dukes of Burgundy and Brietagne to bring back the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond. He received a grant of the honour and Castle of Chilham. He died in 1485, and was buried in Brabourne. His monument still exists, and is inscribed: "*Hic jacet magnificus ac insignis miles Johannes Scot, quondam regis domus invictissimi Principis Edwardi Quarti Controll.*," etc.

[*Vill. Cant.*; Hasted; *Arch. Cant.*, x., 263.]

William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, K.G.

May, 1471-1488.

He was the uncle and heir of Humphrey, eighth earl, and was born on 23rd November, 1417. In 1459 he was made Justice in Eyre of the forests south of Trent. He took part with the Yorkists and was present at the

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battle of St. Albans. He was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle in 1471, and was made a Knight of the Garter in the same year. He assisted at the coronations of Richard III. and Henry VII. as "Pincerna," and he retained his many appointments on the accession of the latter. He was Keeper and Warden of the New Forest, and of the Manor and Park of Lyndhurst and Hundred of Rudbrigge, and of the Forest and Park of Claryndon, and the Forests of Grovely, Mynchel and Babolt. He acted as Warden of the Cinque Ports during the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., and therefore served four kings! In the *Patent Rolls* of Richard III. there are several writs addressed to him as Warden. He founded the "Arundel Mass" at Magdalen College, Oxford, by a gift of the Manor of Aynhoe. He married Joan, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and died in 1488.

Philip Fitz-Lewes was his Lieutenant.

[*Pat. Rolls; Rolls of Parliament; Complete Peerage.*]

Philip Fitz-Lewes.

1488-1492.

It is not certain whether he was ever Constable of the Castle, although he is referred to in Rymer as Lieutenant of the Castle and Warden of the Ports in August, 1492. During the constableship of the Earl of Arundel he certainly acted as his deputy, for in July, 1483, he was placed on a commission with Sir John Scot to levy the toll granted by Richard III. for the harbour and sea wall of Dover, and he is therein styled "Lieutenant of Dover Castle". He was occupying the same position in 1487, and on 18th July, 1492, he is commanded to provide fifty-seven ships from the Cinque Ports at the summons of the king. He certainly acted

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as *locum tenens* of the king after the death of the Earl of Arundel, and we are inclined to believe that he was appointed to both offices, and held them until 1492.

[*Pat. Rolls ;* Rymer.]

Sir William Scot, K.B.

1492-1493.

The son and heir of Sir John Scot, and placed in all lists as Constable of the Castle and Warden of the Ports. We have not been able to verify his appointment, neither does his name appear in the town records. If he were appointed, as is generally stated in 1491 or 1492, he must have yielded up the office to Prince Henry in 1493, and may have acted as his deputy. He was a Knight of the Bath, and Sheriff of Kent. He rebuilt Scot's Hall, and his sister Isabella (or Elizabeth) married Sir Edward Poynings of Westenhanger. He was buried in Brabourne Church, and his brass still exists which bears the following inscription :—

" Of your Charite pray for the soule of Sr Willm̄ Scott knyght which departed owt of this world ye xxiiij day of August the yere of ō lord mclxxiiij on whos sowle of your charite saye a paternost & an ave."

[Philipot ; Jeake ; *Arch. Cant.*, x., 264.]

Prince Henry, Duke of York.

5th April, 1493-1505.

The second son of Henry VII., and after the death of his brother, Prince Arthur, the heir to the throne. He was Earl Marshal of England, Lieutenant of Ireland and Guardian of the East, West, and Middle Marches. His appointment as Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle is given in Rymer as dated 5th April, 1493, and from the *Rolls of Parliament* for 1496 it is

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evident that he then held office. It was of the greatest service to Dover that the future king should have been placed in such close connection with the town, for it is, probably, entirely owing to that circumstance that the question of its harbour was made a national one.

[Rymer; *Rolls of Parl.*, 11 Henry VII.]

Sir Edward Poynings, K.G.

1505-1521.

He was born in 1459 in his father's house in Southwark, afterwards so famous as the Cross Keys Tavern. His father was killed at the second battle of St. Albans in 1461, and had acted as sword bearer to Jack Cade during his rebellion. In 1483, when Richard III. usurped the crown, he sided with the Duke of Buckingham when that unfortunate nobleman turned against the king, and headed the local rising in Kent in favour of the Earl of Richmond. He was compelled to fly the kingdom and took refuge with Henry, and landed with him at Milford Haven in 1485. He was rewarded by being created a knight banneret, and was sworn in as one of Henry VII.'s Privy Council. He went to the Netherlands in command of the English force sent to assist Maximilian, and proved that he possessed no small talent as a military commander. In 1494 he was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy, and in that capacity summoned the famous Parliament of Drogheda, which passed the Statutes of Drogheda and Poynings' Law. By the former it was decreed that all English laws in force at that time should be obeyed in Ireland, and by the latter it was enacted that no bill should be laid before the Irish Parliament which had not been previously approved by the king in council in England. In 1496 he was recalled from Ireland and the Earl of Kildare was reinstated as Lord Deputy. In 1505 he was

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appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle in succession to the Prince of Wales, and on the accession of Henry VIII. he was reappointed (9th June, 1509) for life. He was also Comptroller of the king's Household. In 1510 a patent was issued to Lord Bergavenny giving him the reversion of the Lord Wardenship on the death of Sir Edward Poyning, and in the following year a second reversionary grant was made to Sir Edward Guldeford. It is probable that Sir Edward acted as Constable to Poynings for in 1511 the latter was again on active service, being appointed admiral of the expedition which was sent to assist Margaret of Savoy in suppressing a revolt in Gueldres. He was loaded with presents and honours by the grateful Margaret for the success which attended his operations. He seems to have been made a Knight of the Garter at some period antecedent to this expedition. In the following year he was commissioned, with the Master of the Rolls, Sir T. Boleyn and Sir R. Wyngfeld, to negotiate and conclude the Holy League with the Pope, Margaret of Savoy, Ferdinand of Aragon and the Emperor Maximilian, against the French. In 1516 he receives a pension of 1000 livres from Prince Charles of Spain for his efforts in promoting the "unity with England". He was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and took an important part in its proceedings. He was married to Elizabeth, sister of Sir William Scot, a former Warden. His sister Eleanor had married one of the Northumberlands, and Henry, the then earl, claimed to inherit the estates of Sir Edward as Eleanor's grandson.

John Copuldike acted as Sir Edward Poynings' Lieutenant.

[*Pat. Rolls; Dic. Nat. Biog.;* Papers of Henry VIII.; Brewer; Lyon's *Dover; Parl. Rolls*, Henry VIII.]

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George Neville, Lord Bergavenny,

received a grant of the office of Warden of the Five Ports and Constable of Dover Castle on 5th November, 1510, but he never filled the office. At the time of the death of Sir Edward Poynings he was in prison, being implicated in the troubles which overtook his father-in-law, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

[*Papers*, Henry VIII.; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Sir Edward Guldeford.

20th November, 1521-1533.

A descendant of William de Guldeford who received the Manor of Hemsted, Kent, in the time of Richard II. In May, 1519, he was appointed to the important office of Marshal of Calais for life, and he occupied that position at the time the king crossed over to France for the Field of the Cloth of Gold. He was ordered to provide the following estimated diets of the king and queen with other nobles for one month: 700 quarters of wine, 150 tuns of French and Gascon wine, six butts of sweet wine, 560 tuns of beer, 340 beeves at forty shillings, 4200 muttons at five shillings, 800 veals at five shillings, eighty hogsheads of grease, salt and fresh fish £300, spices £440, diaper £300, 4000 pounds of wax white lights £26 13s. 4d., poultry £1300, pewter vessels £300, pans and spits £200, 5600 quarters of coal, tallwood and billets £200, stables £200. The total estimated cost was £7633, and we may rest assured that the "dieting" of the king at that famous meeting cost over £300 a day. He succeeded to the custody of the Ports under the grant of reversion made to him in 1511, his patent being dated 20th November, 1521. In 1522 he was ordered to make preparations on a smaller scale to receive the Emperor Charles V., who paid a visit

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in that year to Henry VIII. A splendid retinue of nobles, including the Cardinal, the Earls of Devon and Wiltshire, the Bishop of Chester and Exeter, and the Abbots of Westminster, Bury, St. Austin's and Bermondsey, were to await his arrival in Dover, and the Castle was to be victualled and furnished by the Comptroller of the king's household. Sir Edward Guldeford was a favourite with the king and held several positions of trust and profit. He was Master of the Armoury, and in 1531 received a licence to export wood to strange countries, a signal mark of favour, for by the king's ordinance no wood was allowed to be sent abroad from Kent or Sussex saving to Calais. He died about 1533.

His only child was married to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and was the mother of two noted sons, John, Earl of Warwick, and Guildford, who married Lady Jane Grey. She lived to see her husband executed in 1553, and her son and his illustrious wife in the next year.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Henry VIII., *Papers;* Lyon's *Dover.*]

George Boleyn, Lord Rochford.

1533-1536.

He was the son of Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire, and is chiefly notorious as being the brother of Anne Boleyn, the king's unfortunate second wife. He was the recipient of many royal favours, and was Master of the Buckhounds. He was knighted, and created Baron Rochford in 1528. On 25th January, 1533, the king was secretly married to Anne, and Lord Rochford was sent on a special mission to the King of France to announce the marriage and to ask his support. There is an account of a present that he sent to his sister from Dover, consisting of eighteen dottrels which were killed on the shore there. The queen

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ate several of them for dinner, which is a sign that this species of plover was esteemed as a table delicacy in those days. He was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle in 1533, and during his absence abroad his father, the Earl of Wiltshire, seems to have conducted the business of Lord Warden, and Sir Richard Dering (Lieutenant of the Castle) that of Constable. The king's works in connection with the harbour at Dover had been commenced by this time, and the Constable of the Castle was much harassed by a strike among the workmen. They seem to have combined amongst themselves to demand a working pay of sixpence a day, and named one of their number to be a "lord" to represent their grievances. The Constable committed four of the ringleaders to prison, but with seemingly small effect, for two months later John Whalley, paymaster of the works, writes to Cromwell urging that the wages be raised, and requests that the prisoners in the Castle may be punished by standing in the pillory. The Lord Warden was implicated in the charges brought against his sister, and was committed to the Tower, and was beheaded there on 17th May, 1536. He was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter.

Sir Richard Dering was Lord Rochford's deputy, an ancestor of the famous Kentish family of Surrenden.

[*Pat. Rolls*; *Papers*, Henry VIII.; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Lyon's *Dover*.]

Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, K.G.

1536.

The son of Henry VIII., by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, he was born in 1519. He was made a Knight of the Garter at the age of six in 1525, and was created Duke of Richmond and Somerset, with precedence

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above all dukes save those of the king's lawful issue, in the same year. He was also made Lord High Admiral in 1525, and in 1529 Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He succeeded Lord Rochford as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of the Castle in 1536, but died on 22nd July in the same year. He was described as a "goodlie young lord".

[Lyon; *Complete Peerage.*]

Sir Thomas Cheyne, K.G.

17th May, 1536-1558.

He was Treasurer of the Household to Henry VIII., and a friend of Thomas Cromwell, the king's secretary. He was Governor of the Castles of Queensborough and Rochester in 1537, and accompanied the king to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. He was appointed Sheriff of Kent in 1535, and was the commissioner appointed to visit the Nunnery of Minster on its suppression. It was owing to Cromwell's favour that he received the appointment of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, his patent being dated 17th May, 1536, the date of Lord Rochford's execution. Earlier in the same year he received a grant of the lands of the Priory of Benedictine Nuns at Davington, near Faversham, and during his period of office he was made a Knight of the Garter, Constable of Saltwood Castle, Steward of the Manors of Alington and Chilham, and Keeper of the Parks of Westenhanger and Lyminge. The French seem to have committed serious depredations upon the property of the Cinque Port merchants at this time, for we find a report from the Lord Warden stating that the damage done by them was estimated at £20,000. In 1539 the Mayor of Rye was committed to prison in the Castle, and in the same year the king's fourth wife

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Anne of Cleves, was received with the utmost pomp and ceremony in Dover. He was one of the commissioners appointed to inform the queen that Henry would not abide by the marriage contract, and who were fortunate enough to persuade her to accept a royal allowance and live quietly in England as an ordinary subject. During his period of office considerable sums of money were spent in repairing the Castle, the remains of Langdon Abbey being also used for this purpose, and several new defences were also erected. A "green fortress" upon the Downs cost £1000. Sir Thomas lived until 1558, and was buried at Minster in the Isle of Sheppy. He married (*a*) Fridwith, daughter of Sir Thomas Frowyke; (*b*) Anne, daughter of Sir John Broughton of Tuddington. His only son was Lord Cheney of Tuddington.

Sir Richard Dering and John Monyns were his Lieutenants of the Castle.

[*Pat. Rolls; Papers*, Henry VIII.; Hasted; Lyon; *Arch. Cant.*, xxii.]

William Brook, Lord Cobham, K.G.

September, 1558, to 6th March, 1597.

He was the eldest of the ten sons of George, Lord Cobham, by his wife Ann, daughter of the first Lord Bray, and was born on 1st November, 1527. He was sent abroad at the age of thirteen with a tutor to travel. In 1549 he was engaged in the war in France. He was one of the esquires of the body to Edward VI. and was knighted in 1557. He was, with his father, implicated in Wyatt's rebellion, but Queen Mary appointed him Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle on his accession to the title in September, 1558, and his appointment was confirmed by Elizabeth on her accession. He was also appointed Chancellor of the

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Cinque Ports and first permanent Lord Lieutenant of Kent. In the first year of Elizabeth's reign he was sent on an embassy to Spain to announce the death of the late queen and to endeavour to renew the late treaties with that country. The queen visited him at Cobham Hall in 1559. His first wife, Dorothy Nevill, daughter of Lord Bergavenny, to whom he had been betrothed at a very early age, died in 1558, and in September, 1559, he was married again to Frances, daughter of Sir John Newton, at Westminster Palace, the queen in person attending the ceremony. His eldest son, Maximilian, who predeceased him, was christened at the court, the queen standing as godmother. In 1573 he received and entertained the queen in Dover Castle for a week during her famous progress through Kent. He presented the queen, as a New Year's gift, with a petticoat "of yellow satten, layed all over with a parement of silver, and tawney silk fringed with silver and silk, and lyned with tawney Sarcenet," and in return received from her majesty £10 in gold and twenty ounces of gilt plate. In 1578 he was sent with Sir Francis Walsingham on a mission to Don John of Austria, and, although the mission was practically a failure, he was rewarded by being made a Knight of the Garter. In 1585 he was sworn a Privy Councillor. In 1588 he was again abroad on a mission to the Prince of Parma with several others. As Lord Warden he was continuously engaged in the defences of Kent during the preparations for the Spanish Armada. In 1590 he was made Governor of the Palace of Eltham and Custodian of the Advowson of the Hospital of the Holy Rood near Winchester. He was on the commission, appointed in 1593, to inquire into the proceedings of the Jesuits and other enemies of the State, and in 1597 was made Lord Chamberlain, and he received

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a remonstrance from the country against the heavy assessment for the purveyance of the household. The duties of the Warden were chiefly carried on by his deputies, William Cryspe, Richard Barrye and Sir Thomas Fane. He died 6th March, 1597, and was buried at Cobham. In his will, which still exists, he left £2000 for refounding Cobham College. An excellent account of this nobleman will be found in vol. xii. *Archæologia Cantiana.*

[*Pat. Rolls; Arch. Cant.*, xi., xii.; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Add. MSS. Brit. Museum, 6113, f. 201; Dom. *State Papers*, Eliz.]

Henry Brook, Lord Cobham, K.G.

30th September, 1597, to 29th July, 1604.

He was the eighth Lord Cobham, and succeeded his father on 30th September, 1597. In the Calendar of *State Papers* we find an account of the "royalties and benefits" enjoyed by him as Lord Warden. They are given as follows under three heads:—

(1) *As admiral*, one-third part of all benefits of wrecks and finds at sea. All benefits of the goods of pirates and rovers, and of all committing murder and felony within the high-water mark. The ferryage, the election of the summer dredger, the messurage and anchorage of all strangers coming into the harbour. The searching and taking all goods unaccustomed, and the fines and amerciaments, and other benefits of keeping the Admiralty Court.

(2) *In the clerkship of the markets for weights and measures*, the jurisdiction of assessing the quantity of all weights and measures, and the fines for offences committed contrary to his orders.

(3) *In the captainship which he enjoyed*, the right to

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command all inhabitants, seamen and landsmen for any military service he may appoint, and the staying and command of all ships of the Cinque Ports (cclxvi., 53).

He was an intimate friend of Lord Burghley, who had married his sister, and an enemy of the Earl of Essex, who on the death of his father in 1599 endeavoured to claim the Wardenship. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1559, and entertained the queen at his London house in 1600. In 1601 he was accused of plotting against the life of the Earl of Essex who had endeavoured to stir up a rising in the city against the queen. The evidence against him was practically *nil*, and Essex was executed. In 1603 he was implicated in Watson's plot to subvert the government and religion of the country. His brother, George Brook, was Watson's chief assistant, and suspicion naturally fell upon the Lord Warden. Sir Walter Raleigh, his intimate friend, was told to get information. Sufficient evidence was forthcoming to implicate both Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, and they were both imprisoned. At his trial the Lord Warden made a cowardly and undignified defence, and accused Sir Walter as being the original cause of his ruin. He was condemned to be executed, and was actually led out to the scaffold, but was pardoned at the last moment, and committed to the Tower. He made an urgent appeal to the king in 1609 to grant him his liberty, but he remained in close confinement until 1617, when he was permitted to visit Bath. On his return he was seized with paralysis at Odiham, where he lingered for a considerable time in a semi-unconscious state. The king allowed him £100, and £8 a week for "diet". He died in January, 1618, and his body remained unburied for a considerable time as the Crown refused to pay the expenses of the funeral.

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His estates were divided between Viscount Cranbourne, Lord Hertford, and the Earl of Devonshire.

Richard Barrye and Sir Thomas Fane were Lieutenants of the Castle during his period of office, and the latter was appointed Deputy Warden on 29th July, 1603, "Lord Cobham being deprived for disloyalty," and held office until the end of the year.

[*Pat. Rolls; State Papers*, Dom. Ser.; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Lyon's *Dover*; Add. MSS., 34, 147, etc.]

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, K.G.

1st January, 1604, to 15th June, 1614.

He was the second son of Henry, Earl of Surrey, and was educated by Foxe the famous martyrologist during the reign of Edward VI., but on the accession of Mary he was placed in the household of the Bishop of London. On the accession of Elizabeth the education of the Howards, who had been restored in blood, was undertaken by the Crown, and he graduated at King's College, Cambridge, in 1564. He was always at heart an ardent Roman Catholic, although for purposes of personal convenience he pretended to support the reformed Church. He was implicated in the plot to marry the Duke of Norfolk to Mary Queen of Scots, and was arrested; being able to prove his innocence he was given a pension when he obtained his release. There is no doubt, however, of his relations with that queen having been very close. He was the author of several treatises, and for writing one, *The Preservative against the Poison of Supposed Prophecies*, he was committed to the Fleet in 1583. He attached himself to the Earl of Essex, and was admitted to the court in 1600. He initiated and kept up a long secret correspondence with James of Scotland, who described his letters as "Asiatic

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and endless volumes". He managed to impress the king with a sense of his merits, and it was owing to this correspondence that he obtained such an important position when James succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England. He was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle on 1st January, 1604, and in March of the same year was created Baron Howard of Marnhull, Dorset, and Earl of Northampton. In 1605 he was made a Knight of the Garter, and Lord Privy Seal three years later. He received a grant from the king of ten shillings per cwt. on all imported, and five shillings on all home-made, starch, for which he paid a yearly rent of £333 6s. 8d. When it became necessary to surrender this right the king gave him £3206 for "disbursements in settling the business and in lieu of benefits he lost". He also received a pension of £4000 a year for twelve years, and the king was "nearly £20,000 out of purse" over the whole affair. He was one of the judges at the trials of Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, Guy Fawkes, and Garnett. He was a man of a well-cultured mind, and of artistic tastes, and Northumberland House in London was an excellent specimen of his architectural judgment. In politics he was absolutely without principle, and seems to have been determined in the latter part of his life to repay himself for the hardships and misfortunes of his earlier days. He died in 1614, and was buried in St. Mary-in-the-Castle, with "several popish ceremonies". He evidently died a Roman Catholic, for in his will he states, "I die a true constant servant of God, and a member of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, saying with St. Jerome '*in qua fide puer natus fui in eadem senex morior*'". Among his legacies was one to the king consisting of a golden cup valued at £100 with ten Jacobin pieces of twenty-two

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shillings a piece therein, inscribed *Detur Dignissimo.* To Prince Charles he left his "best George," and to the Castle Church £20.

Sir Thomas Waller and Sir Robert Bruce were his Lieutenants.

[*Pat. Rolls;* Domestic Papers, James and Eliz.; His. MSS., B.M., vol. v., 409; Lyon's *Dover; Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

30th June, 1614, to 13th July, 1615.

He was a favourite of the king for a few years, and owed his rise to his handsome face. He received many grants and offices from James, chief amongst them being the estate of Sherborne which was taken from Sir Walter Raleigh on a frivolous pretext of a flaw in his title to it. In 1613 the king married him to Lady Essex who had been divorced from her husband under peculiarly disgraceful circumstances. Lady Essex was a daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and sister of Theophilus Howard, a future Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was Treasurer of Scotland, and succeeded the Earl of Northampton as Lord Privy Seal. He also received the appointment of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in June, 1614, but held the office for one year only. His deputy was Sir John Brooks. In 1615 he was accused, with his wife, of murdering Sir Thomas Overbury, and although there can be no doubt that the countess was guilty Somerset's own part in the matter is less certain. They were both found guilty in 1616, but the king spared their lives. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London until 1622. There is a list of his "records and writings" left at Dover Castle still existing.

[*S. P.* Dom. Ser., lxxvii., 53, etc.]

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Edward la Zouche, Lord Zouch of Haryngworth.
13th July, 1615-1624.

He had been employed in the previous reign to support the English interests in Scotland, and was one of the judges who condemned Mary Queen of Scots. He was rewarded for his services by being made Lord President of Wales. In July, 1615, he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle for life, and was also appointed one of the commissioners to the late Warden. He appointed Sir Thomas Hamon his Deputy Warden. In 1616 he was appointed with Lord Carew Master of the Ordnance, to settle a dispute which had arisen in the Channel Islands with respect to the powers enjoyed by the governor. They decided that the captain, deputy, and jurats were not entitled to remit the death penalty without the command of the king, and that the captain was not to permit soldiers to imprison any subjects in the castle, and was to send all causes to be tried by the bailiffs and jurats. He was also called upon in the same year to protect the gunners of Dover Castle from being called upon to serve in the musters of the county, and he received their thanks for this exertion of his influence on their behalf with Lord Wotton, the High Sheriff of Kent. There seems to have been some dispute as to his jurisdiction as admiral, for a memorandum was drawn up showing that from the time of Richard II. the Lord Warden's jurisdiction extended beyond the Cinque Ports to the "main" sea. These disputes were renewed in 1619 when the Duke of Buckingham was exercising the office of Lord Admiral of England. In 1618 he was appointed on a commission with the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke to investigate the charges of fraud brought against the

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officers of the Treasury in paying pensions. In 1620 the Spanish ambassador complained that he was neither saluted nor entertained at the Castle, and was told that as he came in a small boat which could not return a salute he was not entitled to one. He however received one of nine guns on his departure. In 1623 he was instructed to stop all posts from the French ambassador, so as to prevent any news of Prince Charles' visit to Spain transpiring. Lord Zouch was a just and able administrator, but the defences of the Castle were in a terrible state at the end of his period of office. He sold his rights to the Duke of Buckingham in 1624 for a pension of £500 a year. He styled himself in his will Lord Zouch of Haryngworth, Lord St. Maur and Cantilupe.

Sir Henry Mainwaring was his Lieutenant from 1620, Sir John Brooks and Sir Thomas Hamon being his predecessors.

[Dom. Papers, State; Lyon's *Dover;* Rymer's *Fœdera.*]

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, K.G.

1624 to July, 1628.

Like the Earl of Somerset, George Villiers owed his popularity with the king to his graceful appearance and lively wit. He was born in 1592, and after three years' residence in France he was introduced at court at the age of twenty-three. He immediately attracted the king's notice and was made Cupbearer. He was shortly afterwards knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Horse, a Knight of the Garter, and created Baron Whaddon, Viscount Villiers and Earl of Buckingham. Before the end of the reign he was appointed Lord High Admiral, Chief Justice of Eyre, Keeper of all

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Parks and Forests South of the Trent, Master of the King's Bench, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle. His extraordinary journey to Spain with Prince Charles is well known, and, although the marriage with the Infanta was not arranged, the king created him Duke of Buckingham as a further mark of his favour. On the death of James his position was if possible improved, for Charles I. was entirely under his control, and he was sent to France to bring home to the king Henrietta Maria, who had been married to him by proxy. In 1627 war broke out with France and the Cinque Ports were called upon to provide four ships to reinforce the fleet which was before Dunkirk, and orders were issued by the Lord Warden for the mustering of the trained bands, and for calling up the out-guard of the Castle. Over 800 letters of marque were issued during this year, and the Lieutenant of the Castle, Sir John Hippisley, received several. The Duke of Buckingham was rapidly growing unpopular, and the second Parliament which met in 1626 impeached him for all kinds of crimes. Rather than lose his favourite Charles dissolved the Parliament, and commenced that course of raising money by forced loans which was one of the causes of his unhappy end.

On 12th July the duke landed with a force of 6800 on the Island of Ré, which formed an excellent base for the relief of Rochelle. The French landed an army and defeated him, driving him back to his ships, and he returned to England having lost more than half his troops. In 1628 the king had made preparations to send out another expedition to relieve Rochelle, and in August of that year Buckingham went to Portsmouth to take the command of it. He was stabbed by John Felton, an officer to whom he had refused employment, and who had

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not been paid for his former services, and died within a few minutes, 23rd August.

[*State Papers*, Dom. Ser.; Harl. MSS., 1583, 46.]

Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, K.G.

22nd July, 1628, to 3rd June, 1640.

He was the eldest son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, by his second wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet of Charlton, Wiltshire. From 1605, when he was twenty-one, to 1610 he represented Maldon in Parliament. In the latter year he was created Baron Howard de Walden. He was a favourite of King James, and was given several positions of trust and emolument. He was Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and Governor of Jersey and Castle Cornet. He was present in 1610 as a volunteer at the siege of Juliers. He also held the appointment of Keeper of Greenwich Tower and Park, and was joint Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland. In 1619 he was appointed vice-admiral of the northern fleet. Soon after the death of King James he received a sum of £5000 as a "gift of the late king," and in May, 1626, he succeeded his father as Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, Suffolk and Dorsetshire. He received the appointment of Lord Warden and Constable of Dover Castle on 22nd July, 1628, on the resignation of the Duke of Buckingham. In the September following he was made a Knight of the Garter in the place of the Earl of Pembroke. During his period of office a considerable number of disaffected sailors were tried for desertion from the navy. One of them gave as his defence that "he'd as soon be hanged at home as starve on the king's service". Other signs of the prevailing disaffection were not wanting. A soldier,

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Chesney Eborne, absenting himself from his duties at Sandgate Castle, was arrested and imprisoned in Dover Castle, whereupon he obtained the issue of a writ *de homine replegiando* against the Lord Warden. He applied to the king, who informed him that the orders of Henry VIII. were out of date; and on further application for guidance in the matter the king replied that he was to "see to it himself". In 1639 the gunners of the Castle engaged a Dutch ship which attempted to cut out a Spanish vessel anchored in the roads, and were successful in foiling her efforts, and in sinking a fire ship she let loose, during the day, but when night fell the Spanish merchantman was captured and towed out of reach of the Castle guns. Considering the state of the defences and the smallness of the garrison, sixteen gunners, this may be considered a successful engagement. At this time an order was issued to the effect that the Admirals' Court should no longer be held in St. James's Church, but should be removed to the Mayor's or Town Court. This was done for ten years, but in 1640 Sir Edward Boys, M.P., Lieutenant of the Castle, held the court in its ancient meeting place. The Earl of Suffolk died on 3rd June, 1640, and was buried at Saffron Walden. He seems to have been continually absent from his charge, and allowed the whole of his duties to be performed by his deputies, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Thomas Culpeper, Stephen Monins, Mayor of Dover, Sir John Mainwaring and Sir Edward Boys, M.P.

[*Pat. Rolls; State Papers*, Dom. Ser.; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*; Rymer's *Fœdera.*]

James Stuart, Duke of Lenox and Richmond, K.G.

June, 1640-1645.

He was the eldest son of Lord d'Aubigny, afterwards Earl of March, and was born 6th April, 1612, and was

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baptised at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, King James being his godfather. He was third cousin to Charles I., and descended from Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. He succeeded to the Lenox estates and title in 1624, and was appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. The king sent him to be educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, having selected for him "particular and domestic" servants. He was one of Charles I.'s train-bearers at the funeral of James I., and the author of two odes in memory of the death of that king. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1628, and subsequently travelled abroad under the care of the Dean of Lincoln, his old tutor at Trinity, to fit him "for the service of his prince and country". In 1630 he represented Louis XIII. at the christening of the Prince of Wales. During his travels he visited the Court of Spain, and was a Grandee of Spain ten days after his arrival. After attaining his majority he acted as First Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the king, and attended him at his coronation in Scotland in 1633, and was sworn a Privy Councillor the same year. He had been previously made Capital Seneschal of Gravesend, an hereditary office still held by his descendants, the Darnleys. The Cobham estates, forfeited by Henry Brooke (*vide ante*), had been granted to Esmé Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and formed part of his inheritance, and the central pile of Cobham Hall was built by him from designs by Inigo Jones. In 1633 he was made a Knight of the Garter. In Archbishop Laud's *Troubles and Tryall* we find the following entry: "3rd August, 1637.—I married James, Duke of Lenox, to the Lady Mary Villers, sole daughter to the Duke of Buckingham, the marriage was in my Chapel in Lambeth, the day very rainy, the King present". He accompanied the king on his expedition to Scotland on the first "Bishops' War," although he entirely

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disagreed with his policy. On the death of the Earl of Suffolk he was appointed, in June, 1640, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, and was made joint Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire with the Earl of Portland. He was created Duke of Richmond in 1641, and accompanied the king on his second visit to Scotland. He was appointed Lord Steward of the Household the same year, which increased his growing unpopularity with the Parliamentary party. An effort was made to turn him out of his office of Lord Warden on the ground that he had interfered with the election of a member for Hythe. The duke and his three brothers were present at the battle of Edgehill in 1642. The Commons ransacked his town house and sold his pictures and valuables, and Cobham Hall was denuded of all its ammunition. He followed the fortunes of the king for the next few years, and in 1644, under a safe conduct, went to London with answers from the king to the propositions addressed to him concerning peace. This resulted in the meeting of commissioners at Uxbridge, and Richmond would in all probability have secured an honourable peace if the king had not determined to yield nothing demanded of him. In May, 1646, when the king left Oxford secretly, the duke threw himself on the mercy of the Parliament. After a short imprisonment he was liberated and allowed to re-enter into possession of his estates on the payment of a fine of £8576. When half this amount had been paid, he petitioned the House of Lords to remit the remainder on account of the loss of his position as Lord Warden, and his plea seems to have met with success. He visited the king in 1647 at Hatfield, and again in the Isle of Wight in 1648. He is said to have offered his life in lieu of the king's. He superintended Charles' funeral at Windsor, but the king's execution broke his

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heart, and he "never had his health or his spirits again". He died on 30th March, 1655, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Sir Edward Boys was his Lieutenant.

[*Pat. Rolls; Arch. Cant.*, xi., xii., 49; *State Papers*, Dom. Ser.; Harl. MSS., 1912; *H. Com. Journal*, iv., 3.]

Sir Edward Boys, M.P.

August, 1642, to February, 1646.

He had acted as Lieutenant of the Castle in succession to Sir John Manwood from 1640, and had evidently become infected by the growing animosity to the king in Parliament, of which he was a member. He had no doubt fostered the rebellious tone which was prevalent in Dover, and which had exhibited itself in an attack upon the Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin in April, 1642. In August of that year the Castle was taken by a small party of Parliamentarians, and there can be no doubt that Sir Edward connived at, if he did not contrive, its capture. From a pamphlet published in 1644, entitled *A Brief Narration of the Late Plot for the Surprise of Dover Castle*, we find that a Mr. Daux of Dover was placed in charge of the Castle by him, he himself being otherwise actively engaged. In August of the same year the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Warwick, seems to have formally taken over the command for the Parliament, but Daux was continued in his position. In the pamphlet already referred to we are informed that "he, probably not finding his expectations of preferment answered by that subordinate charge, which was committed to him under a worthy knight and Member of the House of Commons, bethought of making himself a party in the town and Castle, and of holding the Castle for the King". Two men were taken into his confidence, Chandler Belton

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and Dennis Tillet, and the secret was divulged. Daux, probably worn out by anxiety, did not long survive, but the seed he had sown bore fruit, and some sixty Royalists were banded together in a second plot to recover the Castle. One of them named Bray makes five journeys to Oxford, and eventually succeeds in obtaining a commission from the king for their enterprise. The moment for striking has arrived, but the conspirators are not courageous, or in accord; one refuses, another accepts, the king's commission; and, in the end, the whole plot is revealed. The plot itself, like the plotters, was a pot-valiant affair. A select few were to invite themselves to spend a "merry day" with the "Centinells" and soldiers, and drugged wine was to be used. The Royalist prisoners were to be released by a key made by the old smith of the Castle, and a party of friends from the town then admitted. A considerable number of Dover people were imprisoned over this plot, and an account of it was ordered to be read in all churches in Kent on 20th January, 1644, by the ministers, who were to "improve the occasion". All members of the congregation who approved the plot were ordered to stand up! The Castle was apparently then garrisoned by some of the trained troops, for in 1645 Major John Boys was ordered to call in three of the next trained bands for the defence of the Castle, and in the following year forty barrels of gunpowder were sent to him for the purpose of its defence.

Major John Boys, M.P.

10th February, 1646, to 12th October, 1648.

He was one of the members of Parliament for Kent, and was appointed Governor of the Castle on 18th February, 1646, although, as we have seen, he was already employed there in preparing for its defence. During the

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year 1646 he was engaged in quelling the revolt in the navy, and was thanked by both Houses of Parliament for his services.

[*State Papers;* His. MSS. Com., vi., 135.]

Sir Algernon Sydney.

13th October, 1648, to October, 1653.

The second son of the famous Earl of Leicester, and one of the best-known characters in English history. On his return to England in 1643 he was arrested by the Parliamentary Committee of Manchester who suspected him of joining the king, and he was sent to London. There, in spite of the views expressed to his mother, he consented to take arms against the king. He had a commission in the Earl of Manchester's Horse, and fought with distinguished bravery at the battle of Marston Moor, in 1644. He received several wounds which disabled him for over a year, and he refused the command of a cavalry regiment in the following year on account of ill health. During 1645-46 he was Governor of Chichester, and in January, 1647, he received £2000 from the committee of both Houses, and accompanied his brother Lord Lisle, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He left Ireland in September, as his brother refused to appoint him Commander-in-Chief of the Army, if he should be called away. In 1648 the Committee anticipated an attack to be delivered on Dover Castle by Prince Charles, who was reported to be in Calais, and they sent Sydney to Dover as Governor. An extra company of foot was sent in also, and precautions taken to secure the Castle from assault. These precautions were only taken in time, for in June an unsuccessful effort was made by Sir Richard Hardreds and 2000 men to secure it for the king's party. In the following

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year, the year of the execution of King Charles the Martyr, the Council of State were very anxious about the safety of the Castle, and reinforced its garrison by three extra companies of infantry. They knew that a large portion of the people had discovered that in gaining freedom from what they had felt to be the tyranny of the king, they had only fallen into a state of slavery to a despotism supported by an army. The Governor was ordered to arrange for the services of a minister, surgeon, gunner, and commissary of stores for the Castle, payment of their salaries to be made out of the sequestrations in the county. Algernon Sydney had been appointed one of the commissioners to try the king, but after attending three of the preliminary meetings he absented himself altogether, and took no actual part in the proceedings of the commission, neither was he a signatory to the warrant of execution. He seems to have absented himself from Dover more than appeared good in the eyes of the Council of State, for in August he was peremptorily ordered to repair to his charge. On 1st July, 1650, the Council appointed Captain Henry Cannon to proceed to the Castle, and garrison it with an extra company of foot, and he was appointed Deputy Governor of Dover and Sandown Castles, with orders to remain in person in the former, and not to leave it without the sanction of the Parliamentary Council or of the Lord General. Sydney was also ordered to repair to and remain in the Castle as the enemy had some designs upon it. Before the month was out Captain Cannon was in London presenting certain charges against Sydney, and he was ordered to "go back to the Castle, and write what he had discovered by word of mouth". On 13th August the Council sent him an order to bring in writing his report within five days. Nine days later he was given the com-

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mand of an infantry company, and received 300 muskets for the defence of the Castle, and £200 to be expended on its fortifications. Captain Cannon had some reasons for doubting the loyalty of Sydney to the Council, for he took all the arms and ammunition into his own care in September, and the Council approved his action. Charges concerning Sydney's fitness for the command of the Castle were brought against him, for we find in the proceedings of the Council of State for 26th October, 1650, that "upon examining the charges formerly exhibited before a Council of War against Colonel Sydney, Governor of Dover Castle, the Council find that the whole matter has been before the Council of War, and Colonel Sydney adjudged to be a fit person to be continued in his trust, and that, therefore, no further proceedings are to be taken therein". The next minute, however, records the appointment of four, Sir W. Constable, Colonel Hutchinson and two others, as a commission to "consider the additional articles exhibited against Colonel Sydney," and his answer, also to "enquire by whom the paper of names, all written in one hand, was written and given in". On 20th November the "business of Dover" was again before the Council of State, when it was decided that the Council were of the same opinion, with respect to the first articles exhibited against Sydney, but with respect to the second they decided that the "prosecutors can prosecute when they think fit". The final result was that Captain Cannon was removed from Dover, and a successor appointed. Sydney either resigned or was removed from the Castle before 28th October, 1653. His subsequent career is well known. On the restoration of the Long Parliament he was elected a member of the Council of State, and was employed in Sweden in negotiating a treaty between that country and Denmark in

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1659-60. He attempted on four occasions after the restoration of the monarchy to enter Parliament, but was never successful. On the discovery of the Rye House Plot he was arrested, and condemned by Judge Jeffreys, on very insufficient evidence. He was executed on 7th December, 1682.

[*State Papers ; Dic. Nat. Biog. ;* Hist. MSS. Com., 7, 57.]

Lieutenant-Colonel Kelsey.

15th May, 1651, to September, 1659.

He was appointed Deputy Governor of the Castle on 15th May, 1651, and replaced Captain Cannon who was ordered to march to Windsor on the 9th. He obtained an order from the Council for Cannon to repay the balance of the £200 issued to him for the repair of the fortifications. The strength of the garrison was increased by 200 during Lieutenant-Colonel Kelsey's period of office. The war with the Dutch broke out during his time, and their fleet caused considerable alarm and trouble to the inhabitants of Dover, although considerable successes were gained by the English, as an order to Kelsey to send eight Dutch officers as prisoners to London testifies. As early as 1650 the Council of State had considered whether the "jurisdiction of Lord Warden was fit to be resumed," and towards the end of 1653 they decided to exercise the offices of Lord High Admiral and Warden of the Cinque Ports themselves. Cromwell was declared Lord Protector in December of that year, and in 1654 the commissioners of the Great Seal were ordered to issue a new writ for the elections to Constable of Dover Castle and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Two Wardens were selected, but Kelsey, who in 1556 is spoken of as Major-General of Kent and Surrey, seems to have remained on as

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Constable of the Castle until 1659. In September of that year he was ordered to repair to the fleet with three others, and a little later is spoken of as being in Ipswich.

[*State Papers*, Dom. Ser.]

Colonel Lambert and Admiral Robert Blake.

1654-1660.

On 3rd July, 1654, the Council ordered a commission under the Great Seal to issue a new writ for the election of a Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, and in the following year we find "Lord" Lambert and Admiral Robert Blake spoken of as Lords Warden. They did not apparently exercise much authority in the Cinque Ports, and their appointment was probably meant as a reward for distinguished services. As has been stated Colonel Kelsey remained as Governor of the Castle, assisted by Captain Wilson as his deputy, until 1659, when he was succeeded by Colonel Dixwell, M.P. The coming restoration was now very near, and a vain effort was made to arrest the growing disaffection in Dover. Colonel Dixwell on 6th January, 1660, was ordered to suspend all officers in the town. Captain Cannon was ordered back to the Castle, and Wilson, the Deputy Governor, was commanded to attend the Council. The last entry we find being an order to Colonel Dixwell on 2nd February to "keep an eye on all passers to England".

[*State Papers.*]

Robert Blake was born of respectable parents at Bridgwater, and was baptised on 27th September, 1599. In 1615 he was at Oxford as an undergraduate. He evidently held an important position in his native town, for he was elected Member of Parliament for Bridgwater

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in 1640. This "Short Parliament" as it was called was dissolved in about three weeks, but the king was compelled to summon another in the same year, known ever since as the "Long Parliament," and Blake was returned to this as member for Taunton. On the outbreak of the civil war he was the first to place troops in the field for the Parliamentary party, and was engaged in 1643 at the siege of Bristol. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Popham's regiment, and took part in the effectual attempt to seize Bridgwater. He made himself conspicuous amongst the Cromwellian military leaders by his defence of Taunton, which had such a serious effect on the king's cause. He is chiefly remembered in English history as a naval hero, and has been described as the "Creator of the naval power of England". At the age of fifty he was appointed one of the "Sea-Generals," and was employed in blockading Prince Rupert in Kinsale. Seven of the vessels, with the prince, escaped to Portugal, and Blake following succeeded in capturing several of them in the Mediterranean. He was the first Englishman who had led a naval force into that water since the Crusades. He subsequently subdued the Scilly and Channel Islands. In 1652 he was defeated by Van Tromp, the famous Dutch admiral, but after refitting in the Thames succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon his enemy, who had hoisted a broom at his masthead as a sign that he had swept the seas, at Portland in February, 1653. The engagement lasted three days, and cost the Dutch something like forty ships. In July of the same year, during another action Tromp was shot through the heart, and Blake was made joint Warden of the Ports, and received other substantial marks of Cromwell's favour. In the same year he destroyed the piratical hordes of Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, and rescued from the Dey a

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considerable number of English prisoners by paying a small sum for each. The English sailors subscribed a dollar each to rescue from a similar captivity a number of Dutch prisoners. His final work was the bombardment of Santa Cruz, and the total annihilation of the Spanish fleet in the harbour. He died on 17th August, 1657, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. It has to be recorded to the disgrace of Charles II. that he permitted his body to be disinterred and thrown into a pit in the abbey grounds. Blake was a great national hero, and deserved recognition as such in spite of his opposition to the royal power. Some of his descendants are still living, and are deservedly proud of their distinguished ancestor.

John Lambert was a descendant of the Lamberts of Colton, Yorkshire, and married Frances, daughter of Sir William Leicester of Thornhill. He served as an officer under Cromwell, and was present in most of his battles. In 1654 he was elected a member of the Barebones Parliament. He opposed himself to the party which desired to make Cromwell king in 1657; and resigned his offices when Cromwell was made Lord Protector. In 1658 he returned to the command of the army, and was a member of the Council of State in 1659. His troops deserted him in October of that year, and he was taken prisoner and placed in the Tower of London. He escaped, however, and endeavoured to rekindle the war, but was captured on 24th April, 1660. He was tried and condemned, but received his pardon in 1661. He seems to have been confined in the Island of Guernsey, and died in 1694.

Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea.

1660.

Early in 1660 General Monk, who had by force of arms obtained supreme command in England, appointed

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the Earl of Winchelsea Governor of Dover Castle, and he retained that position until Charles II. had landed and formed his government. Lord Winchelsea was appointed Lord Warden in 1669, and a short account of his life will be found below.

In 1645 Lord Saye and Sele had petitioned the House of Lords for the Wardenship, and in February, 1660, a draft proviso was drawn up saving his rights to that office "until the king's further pleasure be signified". The king bestowed the office upon his own brother.

[Hist. MSS. Com., vii., 6, 81.]

Prince James, Duke of York.

July, 1660-1669.

Brother of Charles II., and created Duke of York in 1643. He was captured at Oxford by General Fairfax in 1646, but escaped to Holland two years later. On the Restoration he was made Lord High Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of the Castle. He defeated the Dutch fleet in 1665. Avowing himself to be a Roman Catholic in 1669, the passing of the Test Act in 1673 compelled him to resign all his offices in the State. In 1679 he was appointed Lord High Commissioner for Scotland, and in 1684 was restored to the Admiralty. He was sworn in as Lord Warden at Dover in 1668.

Sir Vincent Fraser and Colonel Strode were his deputies in the Castle.

[*State Papers*, Dom. Series.]

Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea.

1669-1689.

He was the eldest son of Thomas Finch, first earl, and was educated at Erasmus College, Cambridge. He

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succeeded to the title in 1639. He was a distinguished supporter of Charles I. during the civil wars, and after his execution did much to support Charles II. during his enforced residence abroad until the Restoration. As we have already stated he was appointed by Monk Governor of Dover Castle just previous to Charles II.'s landing, and early the next year he was sent as Ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained eight years. On his return he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of the Castle. He was reappointed Ambassador to Constantinople in 1671, and the same year was made Lord Lieutenant of Kent. On the flight of James II. he supported the proposal of offering the throne to William and Mary. He was the author of three works descriptive of his voyages and experiences as an ambassador. He died in 1689.

Colonel Tooke was his Lieutenant.

[*State Papers*, Dom. Series; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Colonel John Beaumont.

1689.

He was the second son of Sapcote, Viscount Beaumont of Swords. He attended Charles II. during his exile, and was employed at the Court of James II. He was a determined opponent of the king's attempt to leaven the army with Roman Catholics. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Berwick's Regiment, and when forty Irish recruits were sent to it he, with several other officers, protested that they would rather resign their position than command men who were not of "their own nation". He was cashiered for this, but as the general feeling of the army was anti-Catholic the king was compelled to desist from his efforts. He went over to Holland, and landing with William at Torbay, was

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reinstated in command of his old regiment, and led it to victory at the Boyne. He represented Nottingham in Parliament in 1685, and Hastings in 1688. He was appointed Constable of Dover Castle in 1689, and on 9th September of that year an order was issued to pay him the fee of the Constable. It is probable that he acted as Warden of the Ports until the appointment of Lord Sydney in 1691.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*; *State Papers*, Dom. Ser.]

Henry Sydney, Earl of Romney.

23rd April, 1691-1702.

He was the youngest son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and brother of Algernon Sydney, although nineteen years younger. He was an extraordinarily handsome man, and was nicknamed the "terror of husbands". In 1672 he was employed on an important mission to the Court of France. He was made Master of the Robes in 1675, and three years later was Colonel of Sydney's Foot. He contested Bramber against his brother Algernon in 1679, and was elected as member. He was sent by Lord Sunderland on an important mission to William, Prince of Orange, at the Hague, and gained the affection of the future king. During his stay at the Hague the Exclusion Bill, which the Commons had passed, preventing James, Duke of York, succeeding to the throne, was thrown out by the Lords, and Sydney sent a remonstrance from the Prince of Orange to the Government. He was recalled for this, but was again sent out as commander of the English force employed in the service of Holland. He took an important part in the negotiations with the Prince of Orange on the flight of James II., and conveyed the invitation to him to cross over to England. He landed with the Prince at Torbay, and was rewarded for his

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services by a peerage. He was created Baron Milton and Viscount Sheppey in 1689. He was appointed Lord Warden on 23rd April, 1691, and was Lord Lieutenant of Kent from 1689 to 1692, and from 1694 to 1704. He was present at the battle of the Boyne, and received 50,000 acres of confiscated estates in Ireland, which were valued at £17,000 per annum. He was made Secretary of State in 1690, and in 1692 was made Lord Lieutenant and Governor of Ireland. He was not successful in this appointment and was soon recalled, being made Master of Horse to the king. In 1694 he was created Earl of Romney. On the accession of Queen Anne he was deprived of all his appointments. He died of smallpox in 1704.

Sir Basil Dixwell was his Deputy Warden, and Colonel Smith Lieutenant of the Castle.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

George, Prince of Denmark.

March, 1702, to 28th October, 1708.

He was the second son of Frederick III. of Denmark, and was born in 1653. On the attainment of his majority negotiations were commenced with the object of placing him on the throne of Poland, but his aversion to the Roman Catholic religion prevented them being carried to a successful issue. He was married to the Princess Anne on 28th July, 1683, and he made a favourable impression at the Court of England. He accompanied James II. when he advanced to meet William of Orange after his landing at Torbay, but when the king retreated to Andover he fled with the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Drumlanrig to the camp of the Prince of Orange at Sherburne. William III. rewarded him for his adherence by assenting to his naturalisation (1689), and by admitting him to the English peerage as Baron Ockingham,

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Earl of Kendal, and Duke of Cumberland. In the following year he was appointed Chief Commissioner of Appeal for Prizes. The mutual dislike of William III. and Prince George of Denmark had a bad effect upon the intercourse between the queen and her sister Anne, and the estrangement which sprang up between them may be attributed to it. On the accession of Anne to the throne, the queen, who was sincerely attached to her husband, made a fruitless effort to have him crowned king. He was appointed, however, Generalissimo of the Forces and Lord High Admiral of England, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, and Captain General of the London Artillery Company. It is reported that the Duke of Marlborough said that he "was ravished to serve under him". An annuity of £100,000 was also settled upon him. His administration of the Admiralty was an absolute failure, and his death alone saved a disagreeable rupture with the Ministry. He took very little part in public affairs. In Mackay's *Characters* he is described as being "very fat, and a lover of news, his bottle, and the queen". He was a prince "of a familiar and easy disposition, with a good understanding, but modest in showing it. He did not deserve the ridicule which was showered upon him." He died on 28th October, 1708.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, K.G.

I. December, 1708, to June, 1713.
II. 18th September, 1714, to 1717.
III. 1728 to October, 1765.

He was born in 1688, and was the eldest son of the sixth Earl of Dorset and Middlesex. He was educated at Westminster, and succeeded to the titles on the death of his father in 1706. In that year he accompanied Lord

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Halifax to Hanover to present the recent act of Parliament to the Elector for the better securing of the succession of the throne of England in the Protestant line. He was appointed Lord Warden in December, 1708, but was forced to resign in June, 1713, having been accused of drawing up the Whig address presented to the queen in that year. On the death of Anne he was sent by the regency as a special envoy to George I. to notify his accession to the throne. On 18th September, 1714, he was appointed Groom of the Stole and First Lord of the Bedchamber to the king and was reappointed Lord Warden. He carried the sceptre at the king's coronation, and was made a Knight of the Garter. In 1720 he was created Duke of Dorset, and five years later was made the Lord High Steward of the Household. At the coronation of George II. he acted as Lord High Steward of England, and carried St. Edward's crown. In 1728 he was again appointed Lord Warden. In 1730 he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1750 he was reappointed to that important office. He was not successful in his administration of Irish affairs, especially during his second term of office, and was compelled to resign in 1755. He was made Master of the Horse in 1757. He reached the age of seventy-six, and died on 9th October, 1765. He has been described as "a perfect English courtier and nothing else. He never had an opinion about public manners."

Sir Thomas Hales was one of his Lieutenants.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, K.G.

June, 1713, to August, 1714.

The son of Thomas Butler of Moore Park, and grandson of James, second Duke of Ormonde, he was born in

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Dublin Castle on 29th April, 1665, and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. He was employed by James II. in opposing Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. He was present at the famous supper at Andover with James II., and fled to the Prince of Orange immediately after. At the coronation of William he acted as Lord High Constable, and was created a Knight of the Garter. He commanded the Life Guards at the battle of the Boyne, and was present at the battle of Steenkirk in 1692. The following year he was taken prisoner at Lauden, but was exchanged for the Duke of Berwick. He commanded the English and Dutch forces in the expedition to Cadiz in 1702, and, although the expedition was a failure, the capture of the Plate fleet on his return at Vigo enabled him to land as a victor. He was made Lord-Lieutenant of Somerset in the same year. In 1703 the Government of Ireland was confided to his charge, but his administration was a failure, and he was deprived of his office in 1706. He occupied the same position, however, in 1710 and 1712. He succeeded Marlborough as Captain-General in Flanders in the latter year, and his humiliating treatment by the English Government is a matter of history. He received the appointment of Lord Warden, and Constable of Dover Castle in 1713, and a pension of £5000, chargeable on the Irish estimates. On the accession of George I. he was deprived of all his offices, and in August, 1715, was attainted for high treason. He fled the country, and lived abroad, chiefly at Avignon. He died in 1745, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset, K.G.

18th September, 1714-1717.

(*Vide ante.*)

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John Sydney, Earl of Leicester, K.B.

1717-1728.

He was born on 14th February, 1680, and served as Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards from 1702 to 1705, when he was elected Member of Parliament for Brackley. He was summoned to the House of Lords on 24th July in the same year, and acted as Cupbearer at the coronation of George I. in 1714. In 1717 he was made Lord of the Bedchamber, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of the Castle. In 1724 he was made Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and Knight of the Bath in the following year. He was also Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard (1725), Constable of the Tower of London (1731), and a Privy Councillor. He died, unmarried, on 27th September, 1737.

[*Complete Peerage*, by G. E. C.]

Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, K.G.

1728 to 9th October, 1765.

(*Vide ante.*)

Robert d'Arcy, Earl of Holderness.

October, 1765, to 16th May, 1778.

He was the son of the third Lord Holderness, and was born in 1718. He was educated at Westminster and Cambridge, and succeeded his father as Earl of Holderness in 1722. He was Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1740, and was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber in 1741. He accompanied the king abroad in that capacity and was present at the battle of Dettingen in 1743. The next year he was sent as Ambassador to Venice, and in 1749 was Minister

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Plenipotentiary at the Hague. He was one of Pelham's principal Secretaries of State in his Ministry formed in 1751, but in 1761 he was dismissed from office, and received, as a consolation, an annuity of £4000 a year and the reversion of the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. In 1771 he was appointed Governor to the Prince of Wales, and in October, 1765, he entered into the office of Lord Warden. He was a man of a taciturn disposition, but dexterous and punctual in the discharge of his duties. In his younger days he had a passion for directing operas, and in 1743 the London Opera was entirely under the management of himself and the Earl of Middlesex. On his appointment to the Ministry in 1751 this epigram was written:—

That secrecy will not prevail in politics is certain,
Since Holderness, who gets the Seals, was hid behind the curtain.

[*Dic. Nat. Biog.*]

Frederick North, Earl of Guildford, K.G.

1788 to 5th August, 1792.

An eminent statesman; he was member for Banbury, and held office in the Granville Ministry of 1763. He was also in the Rockingham Ministry of 1766, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767. He was Premier in 1770 during the American War, and was Home Secretary in 1783. He was created Earl of Guildford in 1790. He was also Ranger of Bushy Park and Chancellor of Oxford University. He was born on 13th April, 1732 or 1733, and died on 5th August, 1792.

T. Best, Esq., was Lieutenant, and T. B. Lane, Esq., was Deputy Lieutenant in 1782. The Hon. F. North was also Lieutenant Governor of the Castle.

[Lyon; *Dover and Deal Direc.*; *Complete Peerage.*]

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Right Hon. William Pitt.

18th August, 1792, to 23rd January, 1805.

The younger son of the Earl of Chatham; born in 1759 he entered Parliament in 1780 at the age of twenty-one, and was Prime Minister of England at the end of 1783. His patent as Lord Warden is dated 18th August, 1792, and he was sworn in at Dover. He died in January, 1805.

Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool.

30th January, 1802, to 4th December, 1828.

He was the son of Charles, Lord Liverpool, and was born on 7th June, 1770. He was created Lord Hawkesbury in 1796, and acted as Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Addington Ministry from 1801 to 1804. He was Home Secretary in 1805-6 and 1807-9. He became Prime Minister in 1812, and resigned through illness early in 1827. His patent as Lord Warden is dated 30th January, 1802, and he held the office until his death on 4th December, 1828.

R. H. Jenkinson, Esq., was his deputy in the castle.

[*Complete Peerage;* Knocker.]

Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, K.G.

27th January, 1829, to 14th September, 1852.

Born in April or May, 1769, he entered the army in 1787. Commanded at the battle of Assaye, 1803, and was gazetted a Knight Commander of the Bath in the following year. Member for Rye in 1806, and Secretary for Ireland in 1807. He obtained the chief command of the army in the Peninsula in 1809, and was created for his services there Viscount Wellington (1809), Earl and Marquess of Wellington (1812), and Duke of Wellington

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with an annuity of £13,000 and a grant of £300,000 in 1814. After Waterloo he commanded the army of occupation in France until 1818. He was First Lord in 1828, passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill in the following year, and was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1834-35. He was appointed Lord Warden in 1829 and took an active interest in the affairs of the Cinque Ports. He died at Walmer Castle in 1852.

James Andrew Brown Ramsey, Marquess of Dalhousie.

15th February, 1853, to 19th December, 1860.

Born on 22nd April, 1812. He was Governor-General of India from 1847 to 1856, and during his period of office the Punjab (1849), Pegu (1852), and Oude (1856), were added to the Indian Empire. He died 19th December, 1860.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, K.G.

15th April, 1861, to 18th October, 1865.

He entered Parliament in 1807, and was Secretary of State for War from 1809 to 1828, and Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51. He was Home Secretary from 1852 to 1855, and was First Lord in 1855 and 1858-59. He was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University in 1863. He died in 1865, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

George Leveson Gower, Earl Granville.

11th January, 1866, to 31st March, 1891.

The eldest son of the first Lord Granville, and was born on 11th May, 1815. He was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1851-52, Lord President of the Council 1855-58 and 1859-66, and Secretary for the Colonies in 1868. He was also again Foreign Secretary in 1870-74.

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Right Hon. W. H. Smith.

7th May, 1891, to 1891.

Frederick Temple Hamilton Temple Blackwood, Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, K.P.

23rd November, 1891, to 11th November, 1895.

Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

11th November, 1895.

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